1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Liaalaomir clan on the Glyde River. Here was enacted the great drama of the Rock Python swallowing the two Creator Sisters which has tremendous import in ceremonial and mythological activity.[10] Even the men will not stay on or near this spot at night. The Gunabibi ceremony, although an enactment of this great event, is not conducted here for fear of disturbing the peace of the great father snake, thus causing him once again to come out of his subterranean depths and swallow those who have angered him.

All clan totems are thought to lie below the clan water hole in the subterranean waters. Here too will be found the old mythological ancestors who lived in the time of the activities of the totems on earth in the great mythological days when the world was made and named. When a ranga (higher totemic emblem) has been made by the men of the clan for a ceremony and has been used during the night time, it is put back into the mud of the water hole so that the .wongar (spirit of the totem) which is felt to be in the emblem may return to the well.

When a child is born it comes from this well as a spirit. In the well it has the appearance of a very small fish. The spirit comes to the father who is to be, and asks for its mother so that it may be born. The father points out the mother and the spirit child enters her vagina. This happens while the father is dreaming; or when he is out hunting he may notice something peculiar about the actions of an animal or bird which will lead him to the conclusion that his wife is going to have a child.

My informant arrived one morning obviously anxious to talk:

I had a nice dream the other night. I dreamed that a boy child walked past all the other humpies [Australian white term for native huts] in the camp and kept coming until he got to my house. He beat on the bark wall. He called out, "Father! Father! Where are you?"

"Here I am."

"Where is mother?"

I told him and wakened up. I thought to myself, "True." Yesterday I went fishing with my wife at the creek. I went up one side of the creek and she went up the other. By and by a bream fish came up and took her hook. He came up to it easily and quietly. My wife did not have to pull on the line, for he came in to her like he wanted to. My mielk [woman] was standing in the water only up to her ankles. He came up to her even though she was in the shallow water. Then he stopped quickly, shook

[10] See Chapter IX for a detailed description of the myth and ceremonies centered around this totemic well.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

himself against her leg, broke the line, and went back into the deep water. We did not see him again. I came across to her; I said, "What was that?" She said, "A bream fish." I said, "What did he do?" She told me. She said, "My father went fishing like this when my little brother was born; I think this fish shook against my leg for that.' I said, "Oh you know that." "Yes." "You remember my dream I told you about?" She said, "Yes, that's what I think. I won't menstruate any longer now because that baby fish is inside me."

A man from another clan told me this story:

My brothers and I took a dugout canoe and went fishing. We went a long way that day. It was dark when we came back. When we passed the long sand beach on Rabuma Island a turtle came out of the sea and looked at me. I heard him splash the water. It was dark and I was afraid. I said, "What's that?" I heard nothing then. We went on. We paddled slowly, for it was very late, and we were very tired. I heard something go "Wah!" I said, "What is that one?"—That turtle looked at me. All the men heard me call out.—We went on. The tide came in. The moon was still up. The Big Star came out. No light yet. We paddled slowly. Pretty soon that fellow came out again. He looked at me. It was light now, the birds had started to sing.—We were home. I left my canoe and went to my camp. This one followed me [the informant pointed to his third and last child, a small girl]. She had been in the canoe all the time, but I didn't know her.

I went to sleep. I dreamed she came to me. I went to the mainland next day. Wilkdjungo's mother saw my younger wife. A child had been sucking her breast. It had left a wet spot on the nipple. The old woman said, "That one will have a child soon."

I came home and quarreled with this wife. My other wife said, "Don't fight with her. She is going to have a baby." I stopped scolding. She was too young to know that a baby was inside her when I came from where the turtle had followed me and this baby had come home with me from that narra well.

If the child should die as a baby it would go back to the well, stay awhile and then return to the same mother. Narnarngo's wife's baby died. The baby went back to its waterhole to become a fish again for a little while and stay beside its wongar.

Narnarngo walked by his water hole. He had just killed a dugong. When he slept that night he dreamed that the child's marikmo (father's father) came to him and said, "I'm bringing my maraitcha [son's son] back to you." Soon the child was born. Everyone knew

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

to go to find it. He says, "Down there by the river you will find many kangaroo," or, "In that old tree there is a large honeybees' nest," or, "Near that large sand bank you will harpoon a very large turtle and find many eggs on the beach."

The killer listens, and after a little time sneaks away from camp by himself and goes out in the bush, where he meets the soul of the dead man. The soul comes very close and lies down. The slayer is frightened and cries, "Who is that? Somebody is near me." When he draws near where the spirit of the dead man was he finds a kangaroo, or, if he has gone to the sea beach, he discovers a turtle. It is unusually small. He looks at it and understands the meaning of its being there in the place where he had heard the movements of the dead man's soul. He takes sweat from under his arm and rubs it on his right arm, if he is right-handed, and on his left, if he is left-handed. He picks up his spear and calls out the name of the dead man and spears the animal. The animal is immediately killed but becomes much larger while dying. The man attempts to lift it. He finds it impossible because it has grown so large. He leaves the kill and returns to camp to tell his friends. He says when he arrives, "I have just killed the soul of the dead man. Do not let anyone hear of this because he might get angry again." His more intimate friends and relatives go out with him to help skin the animal and prepare it for eating. When they cut it up they find fat everywhere, which is considered one of the greatest delicacies in the native larder. When they cook it, only very small pieces are placed on the fire at first. They are tasted with much care, and the meat always tastes unpleasant.

Then the whole animal is cooked and a feast made with the parts more appreciated by the natives. The remainder is carried back to the main camp. The old men of the camp look and see that it is an animal of enormous size. They gather around it and someone asks, "Where did you kill him?"

"Up there by the river."

The old men know that this is no ordinary kill because there is fat everywhere. After some little time one of the old men asks, "Did you see somebody's soul out there in the bush?"

"No," lies the young man.

The old men then taste the flesh of the animal, but it does not taste the same as it ordinarily does. It has a slightly different flavor, it is not like a natural kangaroo or turtle.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

The old men shake their heads affirmatively and click their tongues: "You have seen the dead man's soul all right."

"Yes, he came to me yesterday and went inside my body. Last night when I dreamed he told me to go out in the bush. Today I went out and he came to me. I knew it was the soul of the dead man. When I sneaked up closer to make sure, I saw a small kangaroo lying there. I put sweat from my armpit on my throwing arm and killed him. The kangaroo grew as big as you see it now."

One of the old men replies to this effect: "We knew straightaway that this had happened because it always happens like this. It happened to most of us when we were young men."

No woman is allowed to eat any of the flesh of such an animal; only the old men, the killer, and his immediate male relatives partake of it. When a member of the Yiritija moiety is killed the killer sees an animal of that same moiety; after a Dua man is slain an animal from that moiety is later seen and killed.

Often the spirit of a man who has been killed appears in the guise of a crow, cockatoo, or other bird, and circles around and around the head of the slayer, or at times a honeybee may appear. When such creatures take the place of the spirit they always belong to the moiety of the dead man, and their function is to lead the slayer to the larger animal just as the soul does when it appears. A man only acquires the soul of the dead in a night fight, never in the daytime, because the one who has been killed sees the killer and his anger prevents the soul from entering the body of his killer.

When Mahkarolla had grown to early maturity he went with an expedition to an enemy clan and there killed one of its members in a night attack. He had been home but a few days when he noticed a crow flying back and forth very near his head. It seemed to have selected him from all the other men of the camp for its attention. The crow is Dua; the dead man's clan was Dua.

"This crow flew a little way from my camp. I looked and I saw a Dua honeybee flying away. I followed, for I thought it might be that I would find the honeybee's hive. I went into the bush and watched that honeybee. I went and went and I saw that tree, and up in the top of the tree that same crow was sitting. I knew what this meant. I took sweat from under my arm and rubbed it on my right arm. I looked up now and I could not see that crow any more. I think that he has changed into a honeybee. The tree was a small one when I first looked. Now it had become very large. I took my axe and cut it down. Most bees' hives are only in a part of a hollow log, but the honey in this one went from the ground all the way

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

775 825 up the tree. When I split it open the tree grew even bigger. I understood now, for this dead man I had killed had brought me here.

"When I went fighting that time I was a very young man. No one had told me that when one killed a man his spirit entered one's heart, but after I had killed him the old men asked me if I had seen a soul and I said no and asked them what they meant. They said, 'There is a very big meaning for that; it is something maraiin [spiritual, taboo, sacred].' I understood then what they meant. I began to look for it.

"When I took the honey from the tree there were about seven or eight baskets full. I did not take it home. I left it. I went back to the camp by myself. I said to the old men, 'I have found out there a very large honeybees' nest. I have left the honey at the tree.'

"Some of the old men said, 'Let us walk just a little way from the camp and we will have a talk.' When we had walked a short distance and had sat down one old man said to me, 'What have you done? Have you dreamed anything?'

" 'Yes,' I said, 'I dreamed, but I did not understand then. I do not believe its meaning. I was going about then like a fool. This crow came, went round and round, and sat on a tree. Even then I thought that crow flew for nothing. I did not believe this one. Then I looked and saw the honeybee fly this way and that. I think then maybe I better follow him. The bee had something white on its nose and looked all the same as a bird.' I then told the old men how I found the honeybees' nest and what happened. The old people said, 'All the members of the dead man's clan are going to hear about this, and they are going to be very angry.' "

775 It can be seen that this belief would furnish ample cause, if there were no others, for young men anxious to become strong and adult to go out and kill enemies of the clan.

Types of Armed Conflict

628 There are six distinct varieties of warfare among the Murngin. Each has a separate pattern of behavior and an individual name. In addition to these there is another form in which only the women participate. The names are nirimaoi yolno, a fight within the camp; narrup or djawarlt, a secret method of killing; maringo (death adder), a night attack in which the entire camp is surrounded; milwerangel, a general open fight between at least two groups; gaingar (ghost spear), a pitched battle; and makarata, a ceremonial peace-making fight which is partly an ordeal. Each of the six forms will be described in detail.

In the seventy-two recorded engagements involving killings, twenty-nine men were slain by a gaingar fight, thirty-five by maringo, twenty-

I: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

628 and his companion, had them sleep beside him. After a time they all went to sleep. Maritja felt something in his hair. He raised up, sat down by the fire; he said to his young charges, "Don't you go to sleep now. Something was walking about in my hair. I think it was sent to warn me. Maybe it was a spirit to tell me that somebody would get speared tonight." He talked very loudly for everyone to hear, in the hope that it might frighten the younger men and prevent them from carrying out their plot. Everyone remained quiet.

[825 187] A little bird (willy wagtail) lost its footing in a nearby tree and fluttered about in the branches. Maritja knew then that something was going to happen. "That bird," he said to the young men, "is telling us a story. He has always come and told us black men when trouble and spearmen were around. Then that one walked in my hair; that meant something. I think you boys had better go. I think something is going to happen."

Kamata, one of the young men, said, "No, we will stay here. I am going to lie down. I want to go to sleep."

The young men lay down and Maritja put his legs over the body of the smaller one. Presently Maritja and the two boys were in a deep sleep. By this time it was late. The moon was high in the sky. When the moon had gone down and it was very dark, Balliman and Maiangula awakened. Maiangula said, "You, Balliman, you go kill Gurlbaiili. You, Djowa, you go kill Kamata. I am going to kill Gurnboko." Balliman and Maiangula arose, but Djowa remained quiet. Balliman with Berundais sneaked up to Gurlbaiili's camp. Djowa, meanwhile, had placed his spear in the fire to make it hot so that he could straighten it, and because it would cut better when he tried to kill the sleeping man. While this was occurring, Maiangula removed the steel blade from his spear and sharpened it. He sneaked up on Kamata himself with the spear head in his hand and sank it into the latter's jugular vein. Maiangula then turned his attention to the second man, but he was nervous and attempted to dispatch him too quickly. Instead of hitting him in the gullet, he struck his side. The young man who was wounded started crying, "Mother, Mother, Mother." Balliman, meanwhile, in attempting to approach near enough to Gurlbaiili to sink his spear into him, had run into a pandanus patch, which was around the sleeping man's camp, and because of its thickness and the sharpness of the thorns, he was unable to get through it. He walked around the edge of the pandanus trying to find a path, but just before he was near enough to stab him he heard the thud of the spear entering the small boy's body; he was afraid, and he and Berundais ran away.

In the morning the news of the killing was carried to the nearby camps. Raiola, a brother of the slain man, arrived with some of his kinsmen. Raiola cursed Maiangula and started fighting with him, but when he saw Berundais he thought that this man was probably to blame for the killing,

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

choking the sleeper. The two then pull the struggling man toward them, pick him up and carry him to a safe place in the jungle. The one who had crawled into the camp returns and lies beside the man's wives, with whom he is supposed to copulate in the perfect killing.

The other magician, meanwhile, opens the left side of the man, who is now presumed to be in a dead faint, slits the skin between two ribs, somewhat below the heart, and pulls the two ribs back. He covers his arm and hand with orchid juice[3] and places a small sharpened hardwood stick in his palm with the sharpened end in his fingers. The victim is breathing heavily; when he inhales the magician pushes his hand upward between the ribs, when he exhales the magician holds his hand. When the sorcerer reaches the heart he thrusts the killing stick into it and withdraws his hand from the body.

The victim's body is now held so that the trunk is leaning down, and the blood is allowed to run into a paper-bark receptacle or a waterproof basket. When the heart stops beating the soul is let out; in native thinking the heart's blood is different from the body's blood, the home of the soul being in the heart. The basket of blood is hidden some distance away. The magician returns, puts the ribs in place, and smooths the flesh upon them. He builds a small fire, heats his spear-thrower in it, and rubs it against the wound. Previous to the killing he has gathered a nest of green ants and a small lizard, which are mashed together. The juice is taken from them and rubbed on the wound. The heating and rubbing continue until the opening is completely closed and all traces of the wound are gone.

The magician turns the body on its face. The large intestine protrudes several feet because of the magical death. A few green ants are shaken on the cut. They bite the flesh and the intestine retreats within the hole much like a snake.

The spear-thrower is then dipped in the heart's blood and whirled around the victim's head. The body quivers. The weapon is once more dipped into the heart's blood and waved again. He breathes heavily. The operation is repeated several times until the man who lost his soul sits up and looks very much as before the magical "killing."

The operator now hits him on the head and tells him he will not remember what has happened to him. He is ordered to open his mouth

[3] An orchid bulb, green ants, and sometimes a lizard are collected preparatory to a killing. The juice of the bulb is rubbed on the operating arm. The green ants and lizard are used to bite the intestine to make it withdraw or to bite a wound and cause it to close; sometimes ointments for the same purposes are made of the ants and of the lizard.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

in the chest. We don't feel well. Please, Munyiryir, help us.' I went then and took a shell and filled it with water and washed my hands. I felt over their chests and took out a bone and showed them. A man came from another country. He had a sore back. He said, 'I can't walk.' I looked from a long way and I saw that little hard thing inside him. I blew on his back and this thing came out a long way. I showed it to him. The other man went hunting for kangaroo then and his back didn't hurt him and he was very pleased.

"'Those two spirits sit down on my shoulders. Sometimes they sit on my head. I call them my children. Sometimes they used to come to me in the night. They would say, 'There is a man sick over there.'

"In the early morning I would say, 'Where is that man?' and they would show me and they would say, 'He has got something inside him,' and they would show me where. Sometimes I used to take bushes and brush against the man and now blow on him and that hard thing would fall a long way from him.

"When I first started some of the people said, 'You are lying and not telling the truth.' I said to them, 'You look in my mouth.' I opened my mouth and let them see I had nothing in there."

A Case Record of Willidjungo's Treatments and Cures.—A Birkili clansman had an ache in his back. Willidjungo was called. He gave him the usual rubbing treatment, found the place that was painful, and removed a small stick. This had been placed within him, said Willidjungo, "by a mokoi. This mokoi was a swallow which swooped down over the camp. This bird is the mokoi of some very old dead person. He was angry because the victim had a yam stick in his possession that was owned by a Burera tribesman." The Burera are somewhat distant people from the Birkili and they are looked upon with extreme suspicion as great sorcerers by the tribes to the east of them. The mokoi, according to Willidjungo, had definitely tried to kill his patient. The mokois at times act in the rôle of vampire, since they can definitely attack a living man and make him ill or take away his good sense (make him insane).

Munyiryir, a former magician, had a very heavy cold in his lungs, which might have been a slight touch of pneumonia. After he had suffered a few days with it he called Willidjungo to treat him. Willidjungo brought his paraphernalia, including the spirit bag, a container of water, and, of course, his familiars. He removed a pointed stick from Munyiryir's side. He informed him that it was caused by an old mokoi. This mokoi came in the middle of the night and stood near their two camps (their huts were close together). In the middle of the night Willidjungo awakened his two wives and told them to look at the mokoi, which was standing by a tamarind tree. Both of them said that they had seen this ghost. When

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

but he could kill only one, even though there were a herd of kangaroo there. The taboo of silence is placed on the man from the time he eats the gondjurma shavings until he is successful in the hunt "because it means you have the soul inside you and when you spit it goes out into the water. You can't talk or it would send him out before."

"One time," said an informant who had in his possession a killing stick he intended using, "I was down at the creek trying to catch fish. When I got there I saw Bang-gi-la. He had one of these sticks with him. He was ready to try it when I got there. He had not used fish poison. I looked at the end of the stick. It had been scraped. While I stood there the fish came to the top and were dead. I am going to try mine."

The dry heart's blood can be used in the same way and the magical process is exactly the same. "Wet blood is no good because it makes you sick. When you take wet blood you must keep it until it gets dry."

The stick insect, a creature which looks much like a praying mantis and is one of the minor totems among the western clans of the Dua moiety, is associated with the killing stick primarily because it has a stick-like shape. It is believed that dead souls are about it, and at times it is called wan-djuk by the western peoples, which means black magician. Its correct name is war-a-la war-a-la. It is believed that the warala warala sometimes helps sneak up on people and kill them. There is an ambivalent attitude taken toward this creature. The natives play with him when they see him hanging sluggishly to a limb, laugh at him, treat him rather roughly, yet in their more serious moments they speak of his association with black magic.

The power of the black magician and his technique and the power of relics used to harm one's enemies (a variety of black magic) find their source in the sacredness of the dead. It is the mana of the dead which gives this power to magic and which *is* this power. To the living, the greatest and most intense dysphoria which finds expression in the life of man is death. The more dead souls that cluster about the evil point of the killing stick, the more power the killing stick possesses; a punitive war expedition assures itself of success by the magic clustered in the power of the bone relic because the soul is with it. The ordinary living animal or fish is killed immediately by the magical power of the killing stick because the soul of the dead is associated with it. The dal of the magician is the dal of the dead. The relics express this same power because they are associated with the dead. A relic cannot kill, but it can remove many of the traits of the living

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

children. He swallowed them." (These statements are also applicable to the sacred songs sung while the subsection names are called out—see Section B.) During a Djungguan one of the older men said, pointing to the trumpet, "That is the real Great Father. He is also the real father for these boys who are going to be cut."

D. The Dances on the Triangular Dance Ground

1. The men dance a variety of animal dances, while the initiates stand on the edge of the dance ground and are instructed by the old men.

1. All the men then collect and go over to the dance ground. A fire is lighted in the center. The Yiritja men dance while the Dua men look on; then the Dua dance while the Yiritja watch. The same leader conducts the songs for the men of both moieties. Sometimes two moieties dance together instead of separately, but this is considered less proper.

After the alternation of the dances by the moieties, all the dancers join hands and, calling out in turn wedge-tailed eagle and kangaroo, they stamp out the fire. A new fire is started in the same place and all of the men go out at the anal end of the snake dance ground to the side. They divide into two groups, one representing the Yiritja gray kangaroo and the other the Dua wallaby. They squat on their haunches and hop into the dance ground at the anal end, and when they reach the fire they dance around it as one group. They fall down and lie in a heap around it. This ends the ceremony on the dance ground for the night. They return to the dance ground in the main camp calling out like hawks[18] after they have given the sound that symbolizes running water. Meanwhile in the old men's camp can be heard the low bellowing of the python trumpet "to let everyone know that the Great Father is in camp." It is late and the women have gone to bed; their fires are still burning when the men disband after the day's ceremony.

All the men participate in the above dances, except the boys to be

[18] The hawk is a Yiritja bird supposed always to be on the lookout for small snakes believed to be their chief antagonists.—Tremendous grass fires are made all over the country when the dry season has parched grass and brush to the point where they are easily burned, to clear the land so that it is easy to hunt over. They are made particularly by the women to aid them in catching bandicoot and other small game. At this time hawks gather about, intent upon catching snakes, grasshoppers and other small game which run before the fires.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

the performances that have been held at the original camp. The sounds they make are the voice of the snake. The women's reply from the other camps is that of the two old Wawilak women. The hole dug is a representation of a Mirrirmina well and is sung over to be made such by the power names of that well. The sequence of dances is the same sea-gull-to-Muit cycle; the unmated men dance first and then the females. The dancers who symbolize the unmated males and females do not go in the well. Only mated groups of males and females enter.

Native Interpretation.—The reason for keeping the unmated male and female dancers out of the well, according to the leader of several of the ceremonies, is the same as that given for separating the males and female in the cycle of songs in Section C. "That snake is all the same as a man.—[Here he was speaking of the rock python and other snakes who are the living counterparts of the totemic spirits.] He walks about single [a male dances up to the entrance to the hole]. A woman snake walks about single and lays eggs. By and by at stringy-bark flower time in the dry season they find each other. Mobs of these snakes find each other and they copulate and lay eggs for children [all the dancers go inside the hole]. When the wet season comes one man goes one way and another man goes another way looking for rat and lizard food. By and by those eggs break and the children of the snake come out. They walk about single, the female goes one way, and the male another. The dry season comes and a mob comes out and they copulate and make eggs again and go along a hole because this is a house for them." When the snakes congregate "all kinds mixed up, they all go into the one hole for copulating. In the [early] morning up in the big rocks before daylight they come out a little way and copulate. Two more come out, man and woman, man and woman, and copulate and then go into the hole."

F. The Kartdjur Is Made and the Gunabibi Well Abandoned

1. A crescent-shaped trench, the kartdjur, is dug, and the well abandoned.
2. The snakes dance in the kartdjur; the copulation of the libidinous man and woman and of the two rock pythons.

1. After the messengers leave, the round taboo hole is abandoned and a larger crescent-shaped trench is dug. The trench (kart-djur) is four or five feet deep; the earth is piled along its concave sides. It is about ten feet long, and the width is sufficient for two men to pass

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Native Interpretation.—The forked sticks with the pole across are the house of the two women. The ritual of the women who answer the two snakes and beat the ground with their clubs parallels that of the two old women in Section D. The men in the bush are the snake. The boys who are hanging from the rafter are flying foxes. When the women move back and the men sit down in a line under the rafter, "This means one people, and the rafter is the snake and the people are Muit food.—They are all the same as the birimbir of Bapa himself. —They are Muit and they are one people." When the boys crawl from behind the line of men to one end of the line, they are brought to the tail of Muit and "They are the young snakes of that big one." When the boys crawl up to the head of the snake and receive the food from the head (the Yiritja snake sitting on the forked pole), "This means the children all want food [the children of the snake] and the snake spews out the two women and they [the children] eat it [the two women] and give it back to him [spit out the food again]."

All the above was told to me by the leaders of the Gunabibi, both during the actual portrayal of the ceremony itself and in conversations during the hours of rest between the morning and evening dances.

The significance of the flying fox to the Murngin is that he is a mokoi or trickster spirit of the dead who lives in the bush. He is a generally recognized symbol to all of the spirit that does not go into the water hole but goes out into the bush or the jungle or to the Morning Star Island at time of death (see Barnumbir myth, page 524). —"A flying fox is all the same as the dead spirit from the bush. It is Dua."[18]

J. Ceremonial Purification

1. The men and women paint themselves with red ocher and kangaroo fat. The neophytes are brushed with smoking ironwood branches.

[18] When an uncircumcised child dies, its mother has the wings of a flying fox painted on her shoulders and the body of the fox painted on her abdomen. "This flying fox is the birimbir spirit of that dead baby. This is done for both Yiritja and Dua mothers and babies." The same painting is sometimes put on a woman when she has had her first menses. The woman is placed inside a hut and, when she wants to move, is given two yam sticks with which to turn over. The yam-stick movement is ceremonial and symbolic of the movement of the two old women who walked with the aid of a yam stick in each hand.

The condition of the boys, or women who are menstruating, of the mother of a dead child, etc., is said to be djo-ak, which means ritually unclean. "If a mother or muri or yeppa sleeps close to dead baby that sweat comes out and makes the mother unclean. Women put red ocher on after this. No one can take food from these women until the bones are dug up and she is painted by her husband with flying fox."

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

all the women of their camp, pubic coverings, head circlets, and all other articles of adornment and clothing as presents for the men.

The line of men singing and dancing Flood Water call out "Wah! Wah!" as they dance, and are answered by the women with the usual cry of "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" The men's arms are covered with leaves, the women are not painted or decorated. When the men are facing the women and only a few feet away, they stick the spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles into the ground. The women dance up to them, the old men accept the presents of clothing from them and tell them to start gathering palm food for the guests coming to the last part of the Ulmark. The men then return to their own grounds. The old men put the women's presents in the snake house.

Native Interpretation.—"Snail is just the same as snake," and also, the snail was among the animals who ran away from the women. (See interpretation for Section K, page 323.)

I. The Messengers Leave Again

1. The messengers announce the Ulmark again. Many of the earlier sections are redanced while they are away. The initiates are treated severely. Other dances are introduced.

1. Messengers are sent out to announce the final events of the Ulmark. While they are gone, first the usual cycle, from the Torres Straits pigeon through the various grub dances, is danced in the excavated snake ground. The men also dance the jig steps of the two old women, the old men sometimes holding firebrands in their hands like penises. They shake them in the faces of the neophytes to frighten them and to amuse the initiated. The old men always appear to be extremely angry with the boys who are under initiation.

Then the clowns paint themselves to represent centipedes. They also dance the kangaroo leap-frog sequence and the line of men with spears in their arms. The little boys who are being initiated are forced to stay awake and watch this performance. The men swear at them unless they give complete attention to the ceremony. These last dances, which are not part of the cycle, are done not in the snake hole (excavated triangular dance ground) but some little distance away on the first triangular dance ground constructed earlier in the ceremony (Section D). They also dance a large flying insect (Di-kar) that comes just before the rain time, followed by a black butterfly (Burn-ba) dance, and a red butterfly dance.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

the ocean, preceded by the flatfish and catfish whose songs are being sung. A small bundle of paper bark is constructed. It represents a catfish. It is hit rhythmically against the ground while the groups of men dance the black goose dance.

On the seashore or river bank, according to where the ceremony is being held, two men come out of the chorus of geese (Dua) and dance black duck (Yiritja). The black ducks dance into the water first and stir it up. The geese (the rest of the men) follow. When the ducks enter the water they call out the names of the black duck ranga wells. All the men, women and children wash themselves. Two rings are formed out in the water.—These dances are danced only when the tide is in, for the practical reason that the dancers do not want to walk out on the long mud flats.

After they come out of the water the men dance the two fish songs again, two men at a time, chasing each other and moving back and forth across the beach.

Native Interpretation.—The men dancing catfish on their way down to the water, followed by the women, are supposed to symbolize the two Djunkgao women going down to the ocean after the illegal intercourse of one with the yolno man. A superficial interpretation or rationalization of this behavior is that "when that catfish came out and went into the water it was all the same as those two Djunkgao mielk following the fish and trying to catch them in the ocean. It's all the same too for that flatfish. Those people are all the same as goose trying to catch that catfish."

"Duck goes into the water first, he makes the water dirty and goose follows. That black duck belong Yiritja well and he sings out the name of that well. This is all the same as in a billibong. We always see black duck go in and make the water dirty and goose comes behind." (This refers to the seasonal appearance of the black duck before the geese in the fresh-water lakes in the area.)

"When we wash, that means we're taking that semen off those women and making ourselves clean, and that means too the Narra is close up to finish. That white clay on the women means before this world only ocean, rain fall down and make foam, that makes this land. That white stuff goes from inside the bush, too, all the way to the Crocodile Islands."

"*Dua* people make rangas because Wongar yolnos and those two mielks did wrong a long time ago. It's all the same as two Dua play with each other now. It was a gurutu [kinship] wrong. That Wongar

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

the ordinary rock python]. Bapa Indi makes the rain. Rain is all the same as our brother."

Snails and caterpillars are classed as snakes by the Murngin and, although I did not attempt to get an explicit statement on certain types of grubs, I believe they are also placed in this same category; at least they are always associated with snakes. "Snail is all the same as snake. He comes out just before the rainy season. The inside meaning for that snail is the wet season." Modern Murngin women start hunting snails for food with their marl-pin-pin (snail) sticks at this time of the year.

There are two kinds of lightning. One, ordinary heat lightning, is supposed to be Yiritja; a native compared it to the light from my flashlight because it spread out and diffused evenly. Forked lightning that comes with the roar of thunder is Dua. Yurlunggur's voice is his warro (soul, shadow, or reflection). He said to these two Wawilak women, "People by and by will call my warro, bapi [snake]. When that lightning comes it is all the same as daylight, and thunder sings out in a heavy roar. Dua lightning is the forked tongue of the snake, and the thunder is the roar of the snake. That storm [see myth] and thunder were from that snake, and he was after those two Wawilak women—those two women tried to stop that snake's tongue. He wanted to swallow them. Those Dua rain clouds [see myth] bring rain. Those two women tried to stop that rain because the water came like a flood and tried to cover them all up. That is all the same as that snake swallowing them. The women tried to stop the snake because he was the flood and the wet season covering the earth."

The Great Python, Yurlunggur or Muit, is sometimes seen as the rain itself but is usually associated with or considered identical with the flood. The flood referred to in their thinking is either the great inundation that covered the earth as told in the Wawilak myth or those that come yearly.

Generally Yurlunggur is associated with the totality of the wet season. He is recognized as such by the clansmen of both moieties over the entire area. The degree of a person's philosophical and theological insight into his meanings depends largely on the individual and his social personality. An intelligent, alert Murngin will know most of the evidence recorded here in the native statements. On the other hand, a stupid one would know a few of them and understand the generalities. Muit or Yurlunggur is man and woman, but he is thought of as male. The splitting of the python into two sexual parts, a male

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

821 individual and a female, is made when the totems are put into the
776 category of natural phenomena; and since it is the nature of snakes on earth to be male and female and have young as man and all other creatures do, it is obvious to the Murngin that the totemic snakes are the same as any species. One of the clan leaders said to me, "The children are little Muits. They live here on the earth or with their father in the sky or with him in the waters down below the earth. Their children are true wirtits [actual snakes—thus the connection between the snake species and the snake totem is complete]. It is the little Muits who swallow a man or woman when they do some unclean thing such as a woman's getting into a canoe while menstruating. It is Muit who makes the rain." This account I think is less generally expressed and believed among the larger group because it is too well rationalized and bears the mark of a ritual leader and more intelligent person; yet it would be accepted by any Murngin if it were expressed to him by a leader.

821 The following would be generally known and was told to me
776 numerous times during ceremonies or when the weather was being
●825 discussed: "The wet and dry seasons are caused by the snakes. During the wet the snakes curl up and have sexual intercourse; the Great Father Snake does the same. They then come out of the water and want to lay their eggs. This brings on the dry season so that they can have such a place. By and by this causes the heavy floods of the wet season."

821 It is believed that if, through any ritually impure act, the Wongar
776 totem snake should be angered, he would come out and swallow the
773 earth, and a flood would come at the same time. Several men said to me in effect what I now quote from one man: "If any Wongar snake would swallow us now the flood water would come like it did for the Wawilak sisters and cover all this land.—That snake brought the flood and the rain at the same time when he pushed the stone out of the bottom of the Mirrirmina well." Another time I was told, "When that snake took the stone from the bottom of the well the water came and the snake at the same time. He blew up to the sky for rain." Some versions say he spit water from Mirrirmina, and others say, "He spit at the same time he blew his breath."

At a moment in the Ulmark the leader said to me, "Those Wawilak women sang all night to stop Muit and stop the rain and water. They are all the same thing."

Lightning "is all the same as my brother," a Dua man said to me.

I: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

"When the lightning comes that means a light for Wongar [the totemic spirit] to see by when he makes that big noise [the thunder] and hits down at those people he fought [the Wawilak sisters in the myth]. When rainbow time comes that is the snake Wongar. He is swallowing those two women. When I see a rainbow or lightning I understand rain is coming."

The cycle of the seasons with the growth and decay of vegetation, copulation, birth and death of animals as well as man, is all the fault of those two Wawilak sisters. "If they hadn't done wrong in their own country and copulated with Dua Wongar men [an incestuous act] and then come down to the Liardaomir country and menstruated and made that snake wild [angry]," this cycle would never have occurred. "Everyone and all the plants and animals would have walked about by themselves." There would have been no copulation between the sexes and no children and no change. "After they had done this wrong they made it the law for everyone." One of the most intelligent men said to me, "Black men walk about single and by and by catch a mate belong him and by and by yoto [children]. White man walk about by himself, by and by catch mielk and more yoto come out. Macassar man was all the same. Big kangaroo walk about single, by and by he catch a woman and by and by yoto. All the same for opossum and fly and bandicoot and everything."

"Snake catchum mate and by and by egg and yoto. All the same for lizard and native companion and bee and turtle and everything.

"Black men cut down trees and by and by little ones come up. Everything is the same everywhere. Walk about single, by and by mate and by and by pickaninny."

This was told me during a Gunabibi as well as other times. It is almost, as far as I could see, a formula in the thinking of the Murngin.

Most of the quotations that have been given were obtained while I observed the Djungguan or Gunabibi and was being told by its leaders the "inside" meaning of each part according to Murngin thought.

The statements of the natives in these last few pages clearly indicate that they are conscious of the symbolism by which they associate the rainy season with the snake or with his actions. The snake at this time comes out of the streams, the lakes, the springs, rivers and wells, which are the sacred totem wells of the Murngin, and as he raises himself the flood rises and the rain starts. He is both in the heavens (the thunder is his voice and the lightning his tongue; the clouds copulate and they are the snakes) and in the subterranean

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

821 depths. When the snake rises and swallows the women the waters c
825 the earth cover the dry land, and the snake does not fall until th
773 southeastern monsoon blows. He falls and the earth is dry again
776 "He was looking for dry land to put [regurgitate] them on." Th
rain stops, the waters recede, and the earth dries while the south
eastern monsoon blows. In the myth, then, its blowing is the coming
of the dry season. The snake falls and regurgitates what he has eaten
as do the other snakes. The period of want when little food is avail
able is over, for the wet season has "spit up" what it has swallowed in
its waters. The women and the other animals swallowed are in this
symbolism. The reproductive and "food-giving" parts of nature are by
inference—but not, so far as I could determine, in the consciousness of
the Murngin—the dry season. The great primeval flood is merely a
dramatic enlargement of what takes place every year when the tor-
rential tropical rains flood the lands, cover the earth, and bring want
where there was plenty.

THE WAWILAK MYTH AND RITUAL AND MURNGIN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

821 The "swallowing" of the earth by the rainy season is known to be
825 caused by the wrong actions of the two Wawilak women in copulating
773 incestuously with their own clansmen and by the older sister's later
852 profaning the pool of the sacred python. This is not considered an
unmixed calamity, however, because the rain and water bring the
plants and bulbs and flowers which are consumed directly by man or
provide pasturage for kangaroo, opossum, and other animals eaten by
man. In other words, the Murngin see the snake's swallowing the
women and animals as necessary and part of the scheme of things, and
their testimony clearly demonstrates the causal relation between the
actions of the Wawilak women and the seasonal cycle. The cycle of
nature is a necessary one, in which man has ordinary and extraor-
dinary rôles to play. In the ordinary rôle he "walks about single, by
and by mielk, by and by yoto," as do all the other animals; and in the
extraordinary rôle he is pledged by the Wawilak women to continue
producing the great rituals because of their original sins and to
purify man and his society. These ceremonies are designed to aid
nature, or possibly it would be better to say to restrain man from
preventing by his unclean actions the coming of the dry season of
plenitude. This is why the young man who refuses to copulate with
the woman in the fertility rite of the Gunabibi is scolded and told that
he will be sick and make his partner ill. And this is why the whole

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Gunabibi or any of the other ceremonies must be completed; scarcity and sickness are likely to result if it is not.

The snake, then, in this symbolism of nature, is the wet season, and his actions become significant because he swallows the dry season and regurgitates it, which brings a period of plenty.

A number of additional elements to this symbol are suggested by the four myths. The women are swallowed because of their unclean acts. When the various ceremonial elements are listed, the snake is found to be played almost always by the men, and the Wawilak sisters by the women, uninitiated children, and those who are being initiated.

Initiated and uninitiated meet frequently on the border line of the general camp (to which the women are ceremonially restricted) and the men's grounds. At times the men invade the ground of the women. The formal grouping of the women and children and of the initiated men is emphasized by this spatial arrangement.

In all instances the male snake (Bapa Indi, Father Big) is a ritualization of the male section of society, and the Wawilak sisters who by their uncleanness have provoked the snake (men) into swallowing them are the unritualized or profane sections of the tribe, i.e., the women and uninitiated boys. The only exceptions to this generalization occur when men take the rôle of women on the men's ground from which women are barred. This brings us, I think, to a deeper level of the great Murngin rituals. The men's age grade is a snake and purifying element, and the sociological women's group is the unclean group. The male snake-group in the act of swallowing the unclean group "swallows" the initiates into the ritually pure masculine age grade, and at the same time the whole ritual purifies the whole group or tribe.

The snake is the fertilizing principle in nature according to Murngin symbolism; this explains why it is identified with the men's group rather than with the women; otherwise one would suppose that the male principle, being identified with the positive higher social values, would be associated by the Murngin with the dry season—the time of the year of high social value.

Seven institutions found in Murngin society are the elementary family, the extended kinship structure, the tribe, the clan, the moiety, the subsection, and the horde. The tribe and the horde are amorphous unities which have no formal structure. The unstable elementary family and extended kin groups are organized into larger formal unities by the clan, moiety, and subsection systems. The totemic system

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

Eastern Yiritja Sea Tide Garma Cycle of Songs and Dances.—The members of the clan and the close relatives, including the wives and their near relatives, gather around a symbolic well, a basin about two feet in diameter scraped out of the ground. The ceremonial leader of the clan beats his singing sticks and directs the singing. The sacred totemic names of the clan well of the dead are sung over it to make it the "well" of the dead. The song, which has a wailing quality, is designed to send the soul away from the group and into the totemic well, and to force the trickster spirit out into the jungle. It also helps purify the living group.

All possessions of the people which are in intimate relation to the body, such as wearing apparel, spear-throwers, spears, tobacco, and the like, are placed in the well. This singing takes place not only in the camps where a man has died, but also in any other camp where his near relatives are living at the time. Certain members of the clan agree among themselves to go out hunting, particularly for the animals which belong to the totem, while other members of the group are selected to sing the garma songs.

The eastern cycle of songs follows:

(1) An island far out in the sea.
(2) Lightning that strikes out in the middle ocean and in the east.
(3) Black cloud (mo-dais).
(4) A wind coming in from the sea.
(5) Calm sea water (ran-gu-ra).
(6) Heavy waves on the surface of the sea (man-bui-na).
(7) A small bird, not identified, that dives into the sea for fish (ba-lin-ta-pi).
(8) Kingfish (guin-go-lo).
(9) A flat white fish (yar-war-i).
(10) Whale.
"That one who throws water like rain" (wi-ma-ri, nal-lan-gi, and mar-ping-o). (The last two names are esoteric.)
(11) Diamond fish (ring-ga).
(12) Crocodile.
"The crocodile sings lightning when it comes in the east and that's when the crocodile lays his eggs and that's when the sting ray gets fat and good to eat. When that lightning comes and the rain comes that makes the sting ray fat, that makes the crocodile lay his eggs. Before that time the sting ray has no fat and he is not worth eating."

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

764
533
825

The butterfly is closely associated with the morning star and lives on top of it.

(5) A small paper-bark tree, sung because the morning star and the mokois light on top of it in their flight over the jungles.

(6) Bat (gar-nat-bin).

"This one flies on top of the sky with the mokois at night time. We are afraid when we hear that noise at night that this bat makes because he has got mokois with him."

(7) Ibis, the black variety.

"When the mokois walk around they look at that ibis, and he looks at them, and we can tell when they are around because he looks at them."

(8) The name of the land on the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Cape Wilberforce) where the morning star first lights.

(9) Fire.

(10) An unidentified bird closely associated with the mokois.

(11) The darpa snake.

(12) The flower of the paper-bark tree.

(13) The bark of this tree.

"The Morning Star is going into the bush now. This tree bark wrapped around the corpse makes that spirit feel good."

(14) A small parrakeet.

This is sung because he eats the flowers in the trees.

(15) The slender long-headed type of honeybee.

(16) Crow.

(17) Pandanus basket in which the honey is placed.

(18) Grass, the kind that is dipped into the honey to eat it.

(19) Boomerang.

(20) Spear-thrower and stone spear.

(21) Kangaroo, the Dua variety.

(22) A small unidentified bird.

(23) Rock python.

(24) Rain.

(25) A rock ledge.

(26) Pandanus.

(27) The long type of yam, Dua variety.

(28) Mosquito.

(29) Rain.

"That rain makes the yam and everything grow up and good."

(30) The rope for a harpoon.

(31) The paddle used in a harpooning expedition.

(32) Porpoise.

(33) Sea grass that the turtle eats.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

764
533
[825]

(42) Wallaby carrying a spear and looking for fish.
The wallaby and kangaroo are always said to act like men and frequently symbolize man. "Kangaroo was a man at that time. He was just the same as we proper people that first time."

(43) The sun.
"The sun and that wallaby have gone into the bush, way inside, to make a camp."

(44) Shade in the western sky; the sun is in the east.

(45) A shade comes back this way.

(46) A kangaroo comes along with the shade.

(47) Afternoon.
"Sing Kangaroo jumping around slowly in the afternoon and going back again to the jungle."

(48) Wongar yolno.
"He goes back to his house in the bush too. He cleans the leaf away and makes him a good camp."

(49) Spear and mangel.
"He picks his spear and mangel up and dances."

(50) Red cloud.
The element used to finish the ceremony.

The red cloud is also supposed to appear in the skies just before night falls, and that is the reason, according to the Murngin, why it is used to symbolize the end of the ceremony. [824]

Yiritja Garma Land or Flood Cycle

(1) Black rain cloud.
"That cloud is ready for rain to fall down."

(2) A very heavy rain falling down.

(3) Water running down in a small creek.
"That water is running in a larger stream."

(4) Brook in the rain season when it is swollen with floods.

(5) Fresh-water turtle.
"When the fresh water starts running up high this fresh-water turtle swims along with it just like he has come up out of the ground through the spring water."

(6) Leech.
"His house is in the fresh water and he wriggles around. He is always with fresh-water turtle."

(7) Hollow log.
"This running water has thrown it across the stream and that log has stuck there"—an indirect reference to the log used for the interment of the bones.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

(18) Mortuary platform (gur-o gur-o ["house of the spirit"]). 764
(19) Blue-tongued lizard (dja-bak-a-lak). 533
"He is sung because he goes into the ranga well water."
(20) Finch (djir-kai).
(21) Mirrirmina totem well.
"This is because the spirit of the dead man has now gone inside his totem well."

When a man is considered dead, his relatives start digging a grave for him or preparing a platform for his body some distance from the main camp. While this is being done the sequence of songs is repeated.

The body is allowed to remain a few months in the grave or on the platform until the flesh is decomposed to a jelly-like substance. The flesh is then taken off the bones. While this is being done a new sequence of songs is sung: 765 533

(1) Fresh water pouring from a spring.
(2) Small fresh-water fish.
(3) Sea eagle which catches the fish (dimala).
(4) Pelican.
The pelican is sung because he has a bill which is like a net and catches the fish. "The fish are all the same as the soul of that dead man" (see accounts of the makarata). [825]
(5) A big plain.
"This is all the same as that water which came out of the spring which has come down from the hill country and the bush to the flat sea plain."
(6) Small sea bird which announces the water is near the sea.
(7) Fire to burn off the grass for the dry season.
(8) The darpa snake.
(9) Rain (waltjurn).
(10) Coucal gurundula.
This is a symbol of the wet season.
(11) Crow (wak).
The crow is a symbol of the beginning of the dry season and also of a ghost, "because he tries to pick up the bones of the dead man and he will eat anything." "This means that the people are getting ready to pick up the bones and the body smells." [825]
(12) Small fish.
This is the same song as that sung in the first part of this sequence; at this point paper bark is made ready for taking the bones out of the grave or from the platform. A Yurlunggur

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

YIRITJA SNAKE (BUR-O-O-LO)

This Wongar snake lives out on an island in Buckingham Bay in the ranga well there. The female lays her eggs in an ant bed. The eggs hatch and the young ones come back to the ranga well. This Wongar snake is different from all the rest because he lives just like any ordinary snake. If you go there you can see him in the island bush. 713X 825●

Two men who are alive at the present time and are somewhere around forty years of age took a canoe and went there a few years ago and discovered several of these eggs lying in an ant bed. They cooked and ate them. That snake knew it immediately and went high into the sky. A small black cloud formed. It grew larger and the sun and the whole heavens were covered and Yiritja lightning came out of the clouds and licked at them like a snake's tongue. Heavy thunder and lightning knocked down the bark houses they had built.

No one can kill this Yiritja snake there because it would make so much rain that it would kill all men and the water would come up from the sea and cover the world. This snake lives among the water lilies. He has a black mark down his back. He kills kangaroos by wrapping himself around them. There are just two Wongar snakes there, a female and a male. No black man will kill those snakes. Any other kind is all right. Sometimes women kill the children of these snakes. They sneak up and do it because they don't understand the proper way to act. They cook and eat them and in a little while we understand because the rain and thunder and lightning come hard. When we men know this we call out, "Who has done this thing to us?" 713X 825 821

We keep asking and asking and finally some woman says, "I have killed him." 713X 825

We then gather singing sticks and sing very fast: 821 789

"Dur-ung-dun [thunder, Yiritja]
Mar-li-ar-ri-un [thunder, Yiritja]
Main-muk-dir [good lightning]
Kai-mer-a-na [snake]
Nar-lin-nar-lo [snake]
Bur-lo-o-lo [snake]
Kai-mer-a-na [snake]."

This is repeated a number of times. It is sung this way to stop the rain. This snake hears this and he stops. He understands we are calling out to him and he stops that rain. We black men are afraid that that snake will swallow us again because when it rains more and more that Yiritja snake might swallow us just like that Dua one did a long time ago. A few seasons ago we had a rain like that. It rained day and night for several weeks. We were all very afraid. We sang this way.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

X 113 When the clouds finish and the rainbow comes out it sits down on that island. That rainbow is all the same that snake. It goes inside that well. We know then that some woman has been eating that snake. When we see in the Warumeri and Wangurri country a little cloud come up over that island we understand that that snake has blown and made that cloud and we are very near the rainy season again.

ALL-FATHER STORY

X 113 All black men have a Great Father up there in the sky who belongs to both Dua and Yiritja. His power names are Mang-o-lu, Dur-rung-na, and Li-li-pi-i-na. He looks like an ordinary man but he is much bigger. He is the head man of both Dua and Yiritja. Some men say he belongs only to Dua, but no one says he belongs to Yiritja.

Everything everywhere, fish, iguana, kangaroo, opossum, when he eats them he puts the bones in a pile and does not let them drop down to earth. If a fish bone dropped down it would make plenty of fish, or if a kangaroo bone dropped down it would make many kangaroos. In fact, any animal's bone that fell to earth would multiply its species.

Mangolu infrequently is said to be the father of the children of the two Wawilak sisters, but he was not the father of the Wawilaks. The father of the two creator women lived somewhere in the Nullikin tribe's country. His name was Wa-mo-lung-u (stone spear) and Bur-pa-lo-ma (stone-headed spear). This is the country where many of the flint quarries are found and which supplies much of the material for the stone spears of the Murngin.

FLYING FOX AND CIRCUMCISION

X 113 Two flying foxes were sitting down resting. One was the Dua kind who has a little touch of white on his wings. The other was Yiritja, for he was black all over. The black one said, "Let's circumcise each other."

The two then danced Marndiella. After they had finished it, each cut the other. They started crying out for the first time and their cry was the noise that flying foxes make in the trees when they are hunting for fruit in the night time. They said when they did this, "We'll cut ourselves so that people will always do like this."

Black men think like this today. First came the flying fox Wongar, then the Wongar yolno (men), then our old marikmo-bapa line (present-day man).

FLYING FOX AND DOG

In Wongar days Flying Fox could not talk. Dog could speak. Dog was the leader for Flying Fox. He said to Flying Fox, "What is the matter that you don't talk?"

Flying Fox could say nothing. Dog put his paw under his arm and

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 *532 In panel *c* are unidentified palm trees with fruit hanging from their upper branches.[47] The upper sloping lines are the branches, the lower, the water flowing around the roots, and the cross-hatched central band the swamp.

The Wawalik Sisters

*773 The story of the travels of the *Wawalik*[48] sisters is the basis of four great ceremonial cycles, the *djungguan*, the *gunabibi*, the *ulmark* and the *marndiella*. It is one of the most important myths of north and north-eastern Arnhem Land.

The myth associated with the bark painting (Pl. 88A), although abridged and differing somewhat from Warner's *Wawilak* myth, nevertheless contains the basic elements, i.e. the naming of the plants and food animals, their flight when placed on the fire, the profanement of the sacred pool, and the swallowing and later regurgitation of the women by the serpent, *jurlungur*.

*773 824 ●825 At Yirrkalla the aborigines told me that the *Wawalik* sisters came from a locality far away to the west. As they travelled they collected and named all the yams. They are: *arituna*, black inside; *jakwa*,[49] white inside; *manoka*, milky white inside, with a black stem; *dilkarun*, with hair from its roots like a beard; *wunga-rapu*, red inside with black roots; *kungari*, a large round yam that must be soaked all night to make it edible; and many others. The sisters also caught and named a number of the food animals and reptiles—the kangaroo, *karitjimba*, the lizard, *tjunda*, the bandicoot, *wauut-kurn*, the blanket lizard, *baltjira*, to mention but a few.

*773 When they reached a waterhole called Mirrirmina,[50] the elder sister, who was pregnant, begged her companion to make a camp because she felt that she was about to give birth to her child. The younger woman quickly built a bark hut, placed her sister inside, then lit a fire to cook the yams. However, no sooner had she placed them on the fire than they all came to life and ran away. Again she tried to prepare a meal, this time placing the dead animals and reptiles on the coals, but they too became alive and escaped into the forest. Both of the *Wawalik* women then retired into the hut and soon afterward the elder sister gave birth to a son.

*773 776 In the bottom of the nearby waterhole, Mirrirmina, lived a huge mythical brown python called *jurlungur* (non-sacred name, *witik*). The odour of the blood of the birth so annoyed him that he first came to the surface and sent flashes of lightning into the sky, then, leaving his waterhole, approached the

47. Panel *a* resembles the *mata* design of the *tiwatjinga* language group of Port Bradshaw (Fig. 630), and the sloping lines on panel *d* that of the *kapin mata* (Fig. 632).

48. The *Wawalik* myth and the four ceremonies are described and analysed in considerable detail by Warner (1937), p. 333. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 32, make a short reference to the same myth and ceremonies. Berndt (1951a) also describes the *kunapipi* (*gunabibi*).

49. The yam, *jakwa*, was also created by *Maiuhuma*, the wife of *Bonda-bonda*, p. 341. The flowers of the yam, *manoka*, is used by the spirits at Dumbalia (Bremer Island). See myth of journey of the dead, p. 323.

50. Warner (1937), p. 251.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

took from the hive so much wax, bee bread (the pupae of bees) and honey that it filled one of the honey baskets. The place where the tree fell is now the fresh-water stream, Gurakawi, which runs into Trial Bay. 773*

Again the brother and sister walked northwards, this time searching for the *dun* female wild honey, *liranar*. Near Caledon Bay they again followed a bee to its hive and, after cutting down the tree, filled another honey basket. The depression made by the fallen tree has since become the Mandaranuik River. Still searching for honey, the brother and sister saw many bees near Port Bradshaw but were unable to locate the hive, because the bees, instead of flying to and from their nest, were drinking at a spring. The next bee led them on a long journey from Caledon Bay, cross-country, to Cape Wilberforce, where the contents of a particularly large hive at Jarama, near Melville Bay, filled many baskets. Again, the tree they felled created a watercourse, this time the Wandaraui River.[78] [537]

As *Oijal* and *Neri-neri* were pounding the comb to extract the honey, the sound attracted the attention of a lizard-man. Seeing the brother and sister had collected so much honey, he asked for some and they willingly gave it to him. But as the lizard-man was eating the honey a fragment of stick caught in his throat, causing him to cough and almost choke. For a long time he tried unsuccessfully to extract the stick, then, in disgust, he changed himself into a blanket-lizard, *baltjira* (*Chamydosaurus kingii*). The aborigines say that the stick, now a thin bone, is still in the throat of the lizard. [825]

After that incident *Oijal* and *Neri-neri* went to a group of large caves near Melville Bay and started to cook the wild honey in a large bark dish.[79] While they were engaged in the task an ancestral man, *Wulangini*, was cooking fish at Port Bradshaw. On seeing the large amount of honey the brother and sister were preparing he held up his fish to show what he was cooking, hoping that *Oijal* would offer him some honey in exchange. But *Oijal* insulted *Wulangini* by saying that he did not want his fish; honey was much better food.

After the honey was cooked, *Oijal* and his sister went into the caves, where they have lived ever since. No aboriginal will go near the locality, for fear of *Oijal*, who would cripple him by breaking his legs with boomerangs, then spear but not kill him. *Oijal* would then put the wounded aboriginal in a bark dish, take him into his cave, pound his shins with a stone until they were bent like a boomerang, then starve him to death.

The spirit of such a man, unlike those of other aborigines, does not go to the aborigines' heaven, but lives in the forest until able to enter the body of some woman. When born that child will develop boomerang shins.[80] [175]

78. See engraved smoking pipe, Fig. 62B. [222]
79. Some kinds of honey, when first taken from the hive, burn the throat. After this 'hot' honey, called *bilku*, is cooked by heating it for a while in a bark dish resting in the hot sand and ashes of the camp fire, it becomes much milder in flavour. Cooked honey is *baluma*. [252]
80. The shins of some aborigines are curved and flattened like a boomerang. This is caused by the tropical disease of yaws. [164]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OU17 Muregin OU17

775
616

aboriginal foods there are many coco-nut trees and much tobacco.[43] These exotic foods do not exist in the *dua* heaven.

(i) *The Journey of the Dua Spirits of the Dead*

As soon as the mourners have left the final burial ground, the *dua* spirit leaves his bones, and entering a bark canoe, is paddled by a *Mokoi*, the first man who died, to Junundi, a jungle on the western shores of Melville Bay. At Junundi he meets a number of other spirits called together for the occasion by the two *Mokoi*, *Waluwait* and *Bunbulama*.[44] The new spirit and the *Mokoi* dance all night, carrying in their hands the jungle-flower, *wakoro-nani*, collected by the woman, *Bunbulama*. When morning comes the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly boatman leave for Dambalia, accompanied by a number of dolphins.[45]

The boatman and his companion spend the next night at Dambalia (Bremer Island), performing ceremonies and dancing. This time they carry in their hands the red flower of a yam called *mawoka*.[46] Next morning the spirits start on the last stage of the journey for the distant isle of Purelko. After paddling for many days toward the sunrise and the place where the morning star, *barnumbir*, rises above the horizon, the two boatmen, accompanied by many dolphins, reach their destination. As they land and walk along a path a masked plover, *berrk-berrk* (an onomatopoeic name), which has been watching for their arrival, rises from the ground with a shrill call, a call which tells the inhabitants of Purelko of the arrival of a new spirit. The leader of Purelko, *Junalin-wuya*, a man with a painted penis, meets and welcomes the new arrival and offers him wives and food.

After the new spirit has met his wives, established his camp and satisfied his hunger, he is welcomed by many of his old friends. Later, when walking through the trees, he surprises two women who are gathering food. The women run quickly to their camp, distinguished by the smoke rising from the many cooking fires, and tell the men of Purelko that they have just seen a new spirit. The men form themselves into a line, spears in hand, and wait. When the dead man sees them, he endeavours to distract their attention by dancing first the brolga dance, then the moon-fish dance. But the spirit men of Purelko quietly wait until the visitor has finished his dances before they cast their spears into his body, one

43. The aborigines believe that the coco-nuts, lengths of bamboos and occasionally canoes (see engraved pipe, Fig. 63B) which are cast up on the Yirrkalla beaches during the northerly, *lungurama*, winds are sent to them by the spirits of Nalkuma. The *lungurama* winds (see winds, p. 133) which originate at Nalkuma are also a gift from the spirits of the dead. [823 824]

44. See myth of *Walawait* and *Bunbulama*, p. 286.

45. Warner (1937), p. 306, records that the porpoises (dolphins) take the spirits of the *dua* Milingimbi men to Purelko. At Yirrkalla, the dolphins carry only the spirits of the *dua* children to Purelko. [825]

46. In one account, a ceremonial object made from the yam, *mawoka*, and its flower is taken from Dambalia to Purelko, where it was transformed into the morning star, *barnumbir*. It is not clear whether this flower is carried by every spirit that passes through Dambalia, or whether it was made in creation times, and is now permanently at Purelko.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

616
775
*532

1. North of Arnhem Bay
2. South of Arnhem Bay
3. Elcho Island
4. South of Rocky Beach, south of Yirrkalla
5. Dambalia (Bremer Island)
6. Wessel Islands
7. A small unidentified island in Buckingham Bay
8. English Company Islands, near Cape Wilberforce
9. Buckingham Bay, south side
10. Blue Mud Bay
11. Northern Blue Mud Bay
12. West Blue Mud Bay
13. Koolatong River
14. Between Caledon and Blue Mud Bays
15. Caledon Bay
16. Mt Saunders, between Port Bradshaw and Caledon Bay
17. Jelangkara, near Port Bradshaw
18. Port Bradshaw

I also collected a painting and myth from the Milingimbi area, which dealt with the Djiraia, the *dua* home of the dead (analagous to Purelko), and the morning star, *barnumbir*. Except for different names and locality, the beliefs are essentially the same. This painting indicates that the *dua* moiety of north-eastern Arnhem Land have more than one 'heaven'.

[774]

Djiraia, the home of the dead and the morning star, is situated on a rocky island somewhere east of the English Company Islands (Fig. 1). Two spirit men, *Jumundik* and *Dalnurunu*, are in charge. When a member of the tribes who live adjacent to Milingimbi dies, no matter where he is, his spirit, after the burial ceremonies are completed, goes straight to Djiraia.[53] As the spirit approaches the shore two masked plovers announce his arrival. The spirits of the dead, the *Mokoi*, then stand on the shore to welcome him.

If a man or woman has been evil, malicious or bad-tempered, he is changed into a person of good nature before he enters the spirit land, because all must be happy and at peace with each other. Also, should the spirit be aged, infirm or sick, he is made young and healthy again, for in that country all must be well. In Djiraia there is no want, no hardships and no quarrels. There is an abundance of food everywhere, fish in the swamps and the seas, and kangaroos, emus and other game in the forest. It is never cold, so that everyone, being young and transformed into a good person, is happy. The days are spent in hunting and eating, and the evenings in song and ceremony.

821
616
775
*532

The morning star, *barnumbir*,[54] is kept in a cave under the care of two women, who sleep all day and most of the night. But just before dawn these women wake up and tell the two men, *Jumundik* and *Dalnurunu*, that it is time they stopped their singing and let the morning star out of the cave to wake up mankind, otherwise they will sleep all day long. When *barnumbir* is first released it dances up and down on the surface of the sea. It then climbs up a tall pandanus tree, then flies through the air to visit a number of localities where the aborigines live. When the dawn breaks the women take hold of the string

[825]

53. According to Warner (1937), p. 366, these spirits are carried by the porpoises (dolphins).
54. See Milingimbi myth of morning star, Warner (1937), p. 327.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Muragin OE17

attached to *barnumbir*, pull it back and imprison it in the cave until the next morning.[55]

On the lower left of Pl. 101A is *Jumundik*, with his wooden trumpet to the left of him and his two music sticks to the right. On the right is *Dalnurunu*, who, with *Jumundik*, is in charge of Djiraia. His wooden trumpet, *a*, and music sticks are on his right. The footprints are those of the *Mokoi* spirits at Djiraia. There was no explanation for the fish. The white circle on the top of the central design is the morning star, *barnumbir*, and the long rectangle below, the rays of light, called *balai-aba*, which issue from it.

A number of spirit people provide food for the inhabitants of their respective 'heavens'. *Turi-turi* is one of them.[56]

One day *Turi-turi*, an expert fisherman, set out in a bark canoe to hunt for turtles. When he was far out to sea, a heavy storm came up, broke the canoe in halves and drowned *Turi-turi*.

After his death the spirit of *Turi-turi* went to Purelko, where he still spends all of his time catching green turtles for the inhabitants of that spirit land. The *duu Mokoi*, *Balu-balu*, also provide food for their companions at Purelko.[57]

Plate 106A shows the man, *Turi-turi*, paddle in hand, standing in his canoe. To the left is the green turtle he wanted to capture. The white cross-hatching on the lower edge represents the waves which destroyed *Turi-turi's* canoe and finally drowned him. The remainder of the background is the sea.

(ii) *The Journey of the Jiritja Spirits of the Dead*

When, at the completion of the burial ceremonies, the bones of the dead man are placed in the log coffin, the spirit leaves its bones, with which it has been associated since death, and, guided by the call of the jungle-fowl, makes its way to a forest, Gurila, north of Port Bradshaw. There it is met by female *Mokoi* called the *W'ulu-wulu*,[58] whose duty it is to assist the spirit of newly-dead to reach the *jiritja* 'heaven', Nalkuma. The *W'ulu-wulu* takes the new spirit to another *Mokoi*, *Kultana*, the head man of Nalkuma, who first gives him two paddles, then instructs him how to make a special wooden canoe, called *jililbun*,[59] in which both can travel to Nalkuma. When the canoe is finished and the two are ready to set out on their journey, the women, *W'ulu-wulu*, give the new spirit two seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *mrnin* vine (*Mucuna gigantea*),[60] which will serve him as a passport to Nalkuma. Any spirit who tries to gain admittance to the land of the dead without this passport is hunted away.

55. This is similar to the Yirrkalla myth of the morning star, p. 326, except that at Yirrkalla the two women object to the release of the morning star.

56. The myths of *Turi-turi* and the *Balu-balu* are analagous to those of the *jiritja Mokoi* who come to Cape Arnhem in their wooden canoes to capture dugongs for the inhabitants of Nalkuma.

57. See myth of *Balu-balu*, p. 172, associated with a painted paddle, Pl. 144E, F.

58. See myth of carved figure of *W'ulu-wulu*, p. 343.

59. In another part of the same myth this canoe is called *Lampu*.

60. See Pl. 106E, for illustration of these seed pods.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

616 775 *532 panel *f*, are welcoming the new spirit to his future home. In the upper part of *e* the new spirit is resting quietly in his camp after the ceremony is over.

Plate 100E also deals with the journey of the *jiritja* dead to Nalkuma.

On the upper left of panel *a*, the new spirit is asking the *Wulu-wulu* for the seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (Pl. 100C), so that he can enter Nalkuma. Three female *Mokoi*, the *Wulu-wulu*,[62] are picking the seed pods to give to him. The black bird is the jungle-fowl whose call has guided the new spirit to Gurila jungle. At *d*, the new spirit and the boatman, *Kultana*, are in the *Mokoi* canoe, *Lampu*, while in the bottom is a dugong they have captured and are taking with them to Nalkuma. To the left of the canoe are two dugongs, the white cross-hatching at the tail of the lower, and above the upper one, representing their wake. Panel *b* is the sandy shore at Port Bradshaw, *c* the shallow water, and *d* the open sea.

(2) The Totemic Places and Creatures of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem

423 614 *773 [616] In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where strong patrilineal clans or *mala* have the complete ownership of certain areas, the totemic places in those clan territories belong exclusively to the moiety of the aborigines who own the land. To show the richness of the mythology associated with one particular area, but which is typical of others, I have grouped all the art objects relating to the *jiritja* myths of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem in one section.

616 *773 The area around Cape Arnhem, and, so far as I could ascertain, within the harbour of Port Bradshaw, having been created by a number of *jiritja* mythical men and creatures, is owned today by *jiritja* men of the *gumaitj mata* or language group. Although the *dua* ancestors, *Djunkgao* and *Madalait*, landed on Aparina Island, at the entrance of Port Bradshaw,[63] they do not appear to have entered the harbour, but established their camp at Jelanghara, a few miles north of its entrance. Jelanghara is the property of the *dua* men of the *rivedjingu* [423] *mata*.

616 *773 ● 825 [823] Even though most of the *jiritja* totemic beings of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw were harmless marine creatures, several of them are still feared. For instance, in a group of submerged rocks at Daliwa, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, lives the serpent, *bilumbira*.[64] Should aborigines paddle too near his home, *bilumbira* will rise to the surface and with his long teeth, tear them and their canoe to pieces. The dugong, *merinjunga*,[65] at Naugata, south of Cape Arnhem, blows up smoke and fire to destroy his enemies, while the hawksbill turtle, *konguradji*,[66] creates heavy seas which drown those who intrude on his domain. Within Port Bradshaw are two other dangerous creatures, the devil-ray, *mulara*, and the trepang, *teripi*. The former creates huge waves, and the latter spirts up fountains of water to destroy any trespassers.

62. See carved figure, Pl. 100c.
63. See myth of *Djunkgao* and the *Gaijini*, p. 273.
64. See myth of *bilumbira*, p. 234.
65. See myth of dugongs, p. 365.
66. See myth of turtle, p. 117.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

an axe he used in the construction of his house. The six vertical lines in panel *a* are the posts of the house, made from local timber, and the cross-hatching between them, walls of plaited bamboo. The transverse panels *b*, *b*, are rafters of the roof (rectangles *c*, *c*) which were thatched with the leaves of an unidentified palm.

The three rectangles at *d* are wells the *Baijini* men dug, and the footmarks in the central vertical panel, those made by the men during their house-building. The *Baijini* made their fire outside the house. Their pipes were similar to those used by Europeans.[79]

Spirit People

The spirit people, or *Mokoi* (the *dua* moiety call them *Wuna*) all appear to have been living people. At the present time, they pay occasional visits to the land of the living, where they spend most of their time in the jungles. Although the aborigines are somewhat afraid of the *Mokoi*, as indeed the *Mokoi* are of human beings,[80] I did not personally collect any evidence that they were ill-disposed toward living people. Warner,[81] however, refers to their malignant nature. We know little about the *Mokoi* and hope that later research will reveal more fully their place in the life and beliefs of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land.

The Mokoi, Rangi-rangi and Kultana, of Port Bradshaw

During creation times two men, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*,[82] both of them expert fishermen, came to Port Bradshaw to spear dugong. The day was so windy that the spray from the waves beating against the sides of the canoe rose into the sky, causing heavy thunder-clouds to form and rain to fall. This originated the first wet season. As soon as this happened the stingrays, heavily pregnant, travelled to the mangrove swamps to give birth to their young among the roots of the trees. Since that time the young stingrays are always born among the roots of the mangroves at the beginning of the wet season.

The man, *Kultana*, is now one of the *Mokoi* who sometimes lives at Port Bradshaw. It is his duty to assist the spirits of the dead during their journey from earth to the *jirrija* heaven, Nalkuna (p. 331).

Plate 109E, F, is the obverse and reverse sides of a painted paddle.

On panel *a* are the two men, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*, in their canoe, which has since been transformed into a paper-bark tree. The cross-hatching below the canoe symbolizes the rough seas and that above the canoe, the clouds created by the spray from the waves. On panel *b* is the dugong, *balwakmeri*, with a dugong spear on either side. In panel *c* the two rain-clouds were created by the spray from the sides of the canoe. These same clouds are also painted in panel *e*.

79. See painted pipe, Pl. 128A.
80. See myths of *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*, p. 316, and *Birikiri*, p. 318.
81. Warner (1937), p. 75.
82. *Kultana* is now the head man of the *jirrija* heaven, Nalkuna, p. 329.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*1773 *532 Plate 109E., panel *a*, shows a pregnant stingray which, during mythical times, went into the mangrove swamps to give birth to her young among the roots of the trees. Her body has become a mangrove creek at the totemic place. The ovals at the head of the stingray, places where the stingrays used to gather, are large sand-banks called Mourmourkuna. A mythical man, *Maididji*, panel *b*, is spearing stingrays among the roots of the mangrove trees (along upper edge). On either side of him are lines of falling rain created by the spray from the canoe. The transverse lines on both the obverse and reverse sides of the paddle are sand-banks at the totemic place.

Totem Creatures

778 825 In the centre of Port Bradshaw are *jiritja* totem places belonging to the turtle, the devil-ray, the trepang, the stingray, the octopus, the queen fish and the anchor of the *Baijini*.[80] The devil-ray swims round accompanied by his attendants, the octopi, and the trepang rests on the bottom. Should any aborigines inadvertently paddle their canoe over the totem places of either of these creatures, the trepang spurts up large quantities of water and the devil-ray creates huge waves which swamp the canoe and drown the occupants. The other totemic creatures are not dangerous to the aborigines of Port Bradshaw, although the turtle is dangerous elsewhere.[81]

Two paintings and two engraved paddles deal with these creatures.

778 825 *532 In the centre of the lower panel of the bark painting, Pl. 108C., is the hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*, at Doria Island, near the entrance to Port Bradshaw, whose rocky cliffs are indicated by the cross-hatched triangles on either side of the turtle. The oval at *a* on the lower left is a trepang, *teripi* (*Holothuria* sp.). The devil-ray, *mulara*, is in the upper left with the octopi, *mainda*. In the upper right is a stingray, *barindjinou*, also accompanied by octopi. The designs *b*, *b*, *b*, are the ribs and planks of a wrecked *Baijini* boat, and *c*, *c*, a *Baijini* anchor, now a sand-bank.

Plate 110B also refers to the totemic creatures and places of Port Bradshaw. Reading from the top, in the right panel is a *Baijini* anchor, a trepang, *teripi*, a hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*, and another trepang. The left panel is occupied by the devil-ray, *mulara*, and four queen fish, *tinimbu*.

The aborigines engraved three paddles, the designs of which dealt with the *jiritja* totem creatures of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw. Fig. 58A, B, pictures one of the paddles, C and D the second, and E and K the third.

The four upper bands, *a*, on E, are the open sea. Below, at *b*, and at *d*, are queen fish *tinimbu*. The central transverse band *c* is an arm of the sea, the triangles above being the wet-season clouds created by the devil-ray, *mulara*, and those below, rocks on the shore of Doria Island, the home of the devil-ray, whose body is now a large rock, panel *e*, below the surface of the water. The two rows of triangles in panel *f* are more wet-season clouds and the transverse bar between

80. See myth of the *Baijini*, p. 331. 81. See myth of turtle, p. 117.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Maragin OII7

them, the lower dark-coloured edge of the clouds before they discharge their rain. Panel *g* is occupied by the *jiritja* hawksbill turtle, *koumarudji*.

On the reverse side, K, *a* refers to the open sea, and the row of small triangles below, small clouds resting upon it; *tinimbu*, the queen fish, is in panel *b*. The devil-ray, *mulara*, is at *c*, also surrounded by cloud symbols. At *d* are more cloud symbols, and at *e*, another engraving of *mulara*.

The engravings on the obverse side of the companion paddle, C, deal with the devil-ray, *mulara*, and the turtle, *koumarudji*, and on the reverse side, D, with the turtle only. On C, *mulara*, the devil-ray, is in panel *g*, surrounded by the clouds which he creates when anyone goes near his home in Port Bradshaw. The transverse bands, *f*, *h* and *m*, are rough seas made by him at the same time as the clouds. Near the head of *mulara* is a queen fish, *tinimbu*. At *j* is the hawksbill turtle surrounded by rocks, and at *n* and *k* are thunder-clouds which have discharged their rain.

On the reverse side, D, the cross-hatched bands, *a*, *c* and *f*, represent the rough seas made by the turtle, *koumarudji*, when he is disturbed because the aborigines have approached his home. The triangles on panel *b* are the clouds, *tarul*, caused by the water the turtle blows into the sky, and the two triangles, *e*, the wind that originates in those clouds. The hawksbill turtle is at *d*, the triangles on either side of him being rocks near his totemic place.

Whilst on a canoe journey with the aborigines, I noticed that one of their paddles was covered with engraved designs. At the completion of the journey the aborigines traded this paddle, Fig. 58A, B, to me and explained the designs, all of them referring to the *jiritja* totemic creatures and natural features of Port Bradshaw.

Fig. 58A, B shows the obverse and reverse sides of the paddle. In panel *a* of A is the devil-ray, *mulara*, two hawksbill turtles, *koumarudji*, and two queen fish, *tinimpu*. At *b* is a thunder-cloud created by *mulara*, and along the sides and above *b*, in the form of triangles, a number of smaller clouds.

The reverse side, B, shows panel *c* occupied by another thunder-cloud with smaller clouds, triangles, along its sides. The triangles in panel *d* indicate spent thunderstorms.

(b) CAPE ARNHEM

Mythical Human Beings

Barolo-barolo and his Wives at Cape Arnhem

A mythical *jiritja* man, *Barolo-barolo*, and his two wives, *Mambunna* and *Warungil*, once lived at Kumbulbula, near Cape Arnhem. *Barolo-barolo* was an expert hunter of both the animals and the hives of wild bees. In the middle of a saline flat at the totem place of *Barolo-barolo* was a wooden penis. This was the penis of *Barolo-barolo*. Until recently, when anyone in the vicinity was going to search for the hives of wild bees, he first visited the wooden penis and, striking it with a branch, said:

*773
*532
778
825
501

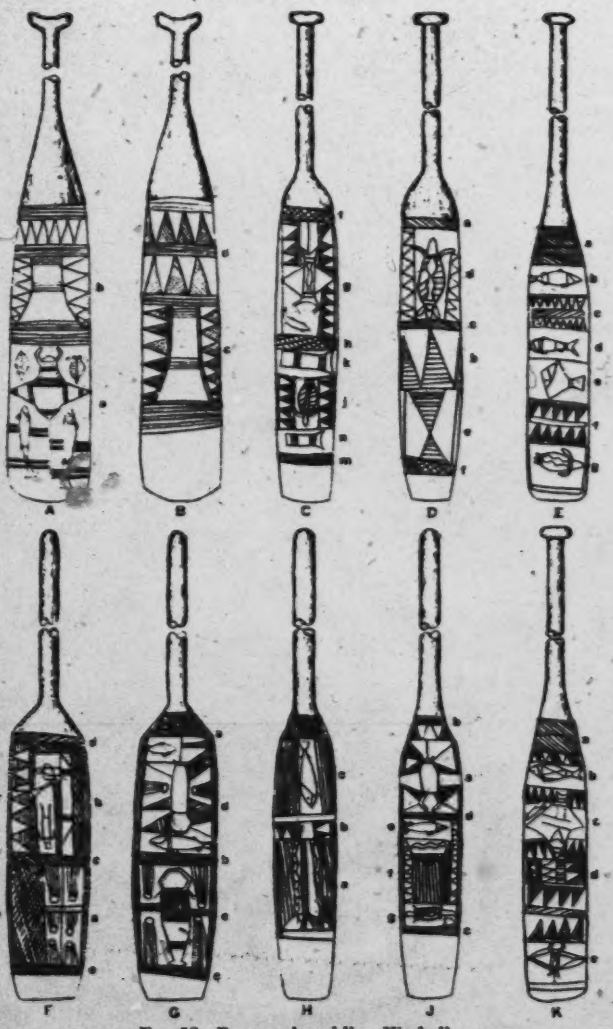

FIG. 58. Engraved paddles, Yirrkalla
Totemic creatures, Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*773
*532
778
825

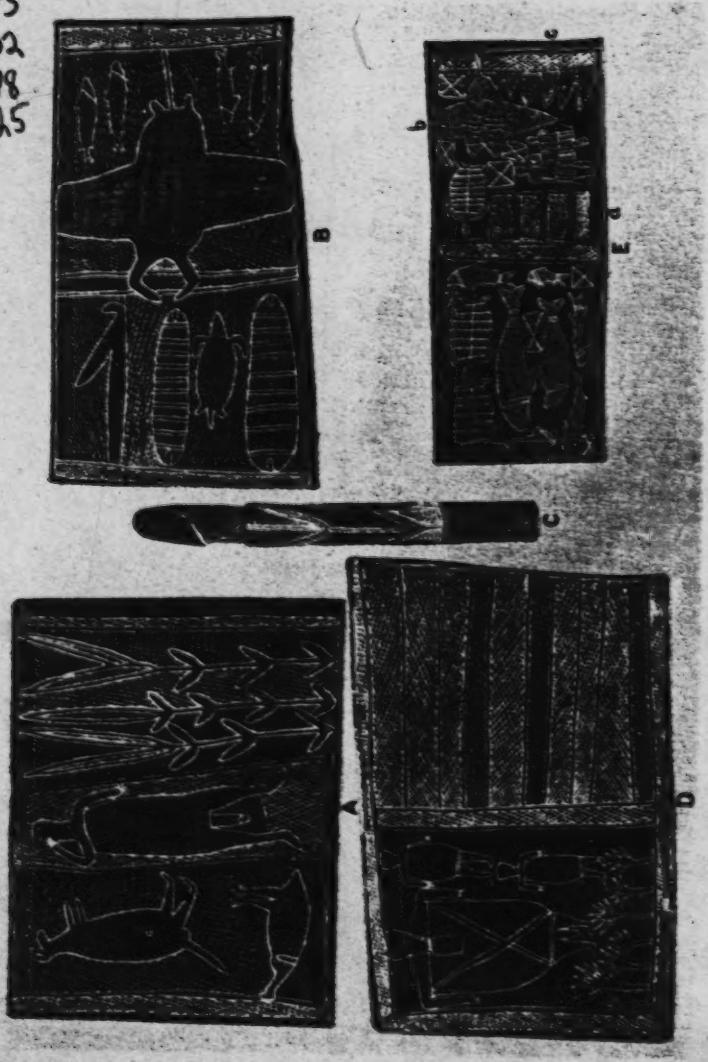

PLATE 110. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A The man, Borolo-borolo B Totemic creatures, Cape Arnhem C The penis of Borolo-borolo
D Borolo-borolo and his wives E The Mokoi and the turtle hunt

that they can help the spirits of the newly dead on their journey to Nalkuma, *Wulu-wulu* giving them the bean of the *menin* tree,[90] a passport into the *jiritja* heaven, and *Kultana* assisting to paddle them across the sea to their future home.[91]

The Mokoi and the Turtle Hunt

Plate 110E is the story of a turtle hunt by some of the *Mokoi* who had paddled in a wooden canoe from Nalkuma to Cape Arnhem, and the incidents connected with the hunt.

The three *Mokoi* paddled through rough water (four cross-hatched rectangles, *a*, on left of right-hand panel) to reach a group of rocks (squares with diagonal lines at *b*) so that they could spear the turtles living among those rocks. On their way the spirit-men saw a devil-ray, *b* (*Daemonata alfredi*).[92] The large gills are shown as slits, and the fat within the body as a crescent. In the left panel are dugongs, *merinjunga*, feeding on the submarine grass, *gumata*. The fish are *tinimbu*, queen fish, and squares with diagonal lines, rocks in the sea frequented by the turtles, upper edge.

The Mokoi and the Dugong, Merinjunga

Two mythical dugongs, *merinjunga* (*Dugong australis*), which once lived in the sea at Cape Arnhem were continuously being pursued by the *Mokoi* who came from the *jiritja* heaven, Nalkuma. The *Mokoi*, however, were not always successful because, just as they were about to spear the creatures, a storm would develop and allow the dugongs to escape.[93] Later the canoe was transformed into a large rock on the sea coast between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, and the dugongs into a rock in the water near by. The place of the stingray, which also appears in the painting, is a hole in the ground. When travelling in their canoes the aborigines will not go near the totemic place of the dugong, for if they did the dugongs would send up so much smoke and fire that they would be destroyed.

On the land, near this totemic place, is a paper-bark tree, once a dugong, which resembles that creature in appearance, and near by is a termite mound also a transformed dugong. When the aborigines wish to increase the supply of dugongs at a particular locality they take a branch from the dugong tree and a piece of earth from the termite mound and throw them both into the fire. When the wood is burnt to ash the men take the heated termite earth from the fire, pound it into dust, mix it with the wood ash and throw the mixture into the sea where the dugongs feed. This dust from the totemic tree and the termite mound will create many dugongs in that locality.[94]

90. Pl. 108C. 91. Myth, p. 331.

92. This huge, cumbersome but harmless sea-creature sometimes reaches a length of fifteen feet and a weight of a ton.

93. Dugongs can only be captured on windless days when the sea is calm.

94. This increase ritual is not unlike that carried out at the increase centre for parrot-fish at Winchelsea Island, p. 84.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

776 *773 *532

clouds to form, shown on panel *b*, and rain to fall. In panel *c* are two more queen fish. The rectangular design in the centre of the left-hand panel is an unidentified place, called Waitjundudu, situated under the water near Cape Arnhem. Near by are two queen fish, three turtles and seven octopi.

The Journey of the Mokoi, Birikiri, to Cape Arnhem

[778] There was once a spirit man (*Mokoi*) called *Birikiri*, who left Nalkuma to capture some dugongs and paddled to the totem place of the *Mokoi* on the southern side of Cape Arnhem. On his arrival *Birikiri* felt tired, so he pulled his canoe up on the beach, lay down on the warm sand and went to sleep. When he awoke he saw, to his dismay, a mortal man, an aboriginal called *Junbulu*, coming toward him. He rushed to his canoe but in his fright became so confused that he had great difficulty in launching it. Finally he succeeded and, paddling through the rough breakers, reached Nalkuma in safety.

Figure 58F, G illustrates both the obverse and reverse sides of the engraved paddle.

In panel *b* of F is *Birikiri* who, having just arrived from Nalkuma, has pulled his canoe up on the beach, the cross-hatched panel below. Above the canoe is *Birikiri* asleep on the sand, the sand being indicated by the long rectangle beneath him. There are six octopi, called *kuridilir*, in panel *a*. Cross-hatched transverse panels, *c*, *d*, *e*, and the area *o*, represent the stormy water through which *Birikiri* paddled his canoe to escape from *Junbulu*. At *r*, the triangular designs are clouds left in the sky by the *Mokoi*.

The reverse side of the paddle, G, deals with some of the totemic creatures associated with Cape Arnhem, all of which have become natural features. In the centre of panel *d* is a devil-ray with octopi on either side. There is a queen fish above and below. The hump-backed whale, *morokundja*, is in panel *e*, [825] surrounded by four octopi. These octopi are the friends of both the whale and the devil-ray. Transverse panels *a*, *b* and *c* refer to the stormy seas through which the *Mokoi* paddled and the short lines around the border of the paddle, reefs some distance from the shore.

Totem Creatures

*773 778 825 *532

Three bark paintings and three decorated paddles illustrate one or more of the totem creatures of Cape Arnhem.

The Totemic Creatures at Murawina, near Cape Arnhem

The upper cross-hatched panel of Pl. 106B[99] is the open sea. Below, at *a*, is the devil-ray, *mulura*, and his friends, the octopi, *mainda*. At *b* is the constellation of Tjirilpan, Orion and the Pleiades,[99] with a rock cod, *kouper*, on each side of the constellation. In panels *c* and *d* are six clouds. Rain is falling from the two clouds on the right. In the bottom left-hand panel, *e*, is a crocodile,

99. Interpretation by F. M. Setzler. 99. See astronomy, Pl. 157D.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

baron, a stingray, *kawangalk-miri*, two hawksbill turtles, *kouwaradji*, and the turtle rocks shown in Pl. 110E. In panel *f* there are two stingrays.

The Queen Fish, Tinimbu, the Turtle, Kouwaradji, and the Octopus, Mainda

The upper panel of Pl. 106C contains four octopi, *mainda*, and a turtle, *kouwaradji*, and in the bottom panel three queen fish, *tinimbu*, and a number of octopi. The figure at the lower left, to which two octopi have attached themselves, and on which one of the queen fish is resting, is an unidentified totemic rock on the bottom of the sea between Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem.*

The Whales, Welerria and Morokundja, and the Stingray, Kawangalk-miri, at Cape Arnhem

In the early days, two mythical whales[1] lived in large caves at the bottom of the sea at Cape Arnhem. The male was called *welerria*, and the female *morokundja*. They had as a companion a stingray, *kawangalk-miri*. At the close of the creation period the whales and the stingray went into the sky and are now portions of the Milky Way near the constellation of Orion.

The first figure to the left of Pl. 106D is the female whale, *morokundja*, the next is the male, *welerria*, and the third the stingray, *kawangalk-miri*. The two dark-coloured rectangles, *a* and *b*, at the upper right and left, are caves at the bottom of the sea where the whales once lived. The white cross-hatching is sea-water and the darker-coloured cross-hatched panels, water which was clouded by the stingray when it was feeding along the bottom. The parallel lines above the heads of the whales symbolize the water parting as they swam and the white triangle on their heads, their blow-hole.

Totem Place of the Devil-ray, Mulara, and the Whale, Morokundja, at Nautjaka, Cape Arnhem

On the upper left of Pl. 108B is the devil-ray, *mulara*, surrounded by panels of triangular designs representing clouds. On the upper right is a whale, *morokundja* (most likely *Megaptera australis*).[2] The cross-hatching surrounding the whale indicates the disturbance it creates as it swims through the water.

On the left, at *a*, are two oval rocks, the haunts of the hawksbill turtles and sailfish, *kunderunga*, shown to the right of the rocks.

The three triangular designs, *a*, and the three anvil shapes, *b*, above them are clouds. Reading from *c* at the right edge, the subjects of the panels are: sea-water, a panel of clouds, a line of octopi, sea-water and another line of octopi. Nautjaka, at Cape Arnhem, is the totem place for all the creatures represented in the painting. Interpretation by F. M. Setzler.

*Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXVI.

1. Warner (1937), p. 365, describes the totemic dance of the whale in the *jiritja* sacra ceremonies of the Murngin tribe.

2. This whale later went into the sky and became part of the Milky Way near the constellation of Orion, Pl. 157D.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

ARNHEM LAND: ART, MYTH AND SYMBOLISM

The Hawksbill Turtle, Kouwaradji

*7713
7778
●825
+532
[821]

A giant *jiritja* hawksbill turtle, called *kouwaradji*, lives at Talaoi, a totemic place at the bottom of the sea, but close to the shore of southern Cape Arnhem. This turtle is greatly feared and in general his camp is strictly avoided. Should, however, an aboriginal unwittingly paddle his canoe over *kouwaradji's* camp, the turtle becomes annoyed and either creates waves so large that they upset the canoe and drown the occupant, or blows water into the sky to create heavy thunderstorms, so that they will destroy the intruder.

Kouwaradji, however, does not always drown the offenders. Sometimes he takes them under the water for a time and then allows them to come to the surface again. Although this experience makes the aborigines 'silly' for some weeks, they finally recover.

In the centre of the painted paddle, Pl. 109A, at *a*, is Talaoi, the camp of the hawksbill turtle. The black triangles are flat rocks at the totemic place, and the light-coloured triangles, coral rocks. Above and below at *b*, *b*, is the hawksbill turtle. The groups of triangular designs at the top and bottom of the paddle blade are the thunder-clouds created by the turtle when he becomes annoyed.

The Dugong, Merinjunga

[821]

When the dugong, *merinjunga*, is disturbed by the aborigines paddling a canoe over his camp at Nangata (at the bottom of the sea, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw) he becomes annoyed and blows up so much smoke and fire that it destroys the intruders and causes heavy rainstorms to fall. As soon as this happens, the stingrays travel into the mangrove swamps to give birth to their young.[3]

Plate 109B shows the painted paddle, both sides of which are decorated similarly. The design in panel *a* is a large rain cloud created by the dugong, and the triangles on either side, smaller clouds. The dark-coloured triangle in panel *b* is a thunderstorm and the cross-hatching on either side, the rain falling from it. Similar cross-hatching in panel *c* also indicates the falling rain, which causes the stingray, centre, to go to the mangrove swamps.

The Devil-ray, Mulara, and the Hawksbill Turtle, Kouwaradji

Plate 109C, D pictures the obverse and reverse sides of the painted paddle. On panel *a* of C is the devil-ray, *mulara*, surrounded by octopi, *kundilir*. In the two panels, *b*, are queen fish, *tinimbu*, and above them again, at *c*, the clouds made by the devil-ray, *mulara*, when he becomes annoyed. The cross-hatched panels on either side are flat rocks at his totemic place near Cape Arnhem and the transverse cross-hatched panels, *f*, *f*, *f*, the waves breaking over those rocks. At *d* is the hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*, accompanied by his attendants, the octopi, *mainda*.

3. This myth is similar in this respect to that of the dugong and the mythical men, p. 345.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Marngin OII7

On the reverse side, *a* is the devil-ray, *mulara*, surrounded by octopi. At the top of the same panel are two queen fish. At *b* are two *jiritja* stingrays, *dulamou*, the cross-hatched panels surrounding them representing the sand-banks near their totemic place. There is a wet-season cloud, *barawal*, at *c*, created by the serpents, *bilumbira*, and at *d* the same clouds when the rain is falling.

The bottom of all *jiritja* paddles are similar in shape to this example. For the shape of the *dua* paddle, see Fig. 58A, B.

On this paddle, 58H, J, are engravings of the devil-ray, queen fish, crocodile, stone fish and the serpents, *bilumbira*.

On J, *a* is the devil-ray, the triangles at its tail picturing broken cumulus clouds after they have shed their rain. At *e* is the queen fish, *tinimbu*, and at *f* a wet-season cumulus cloud with rain falling from its lower edge. This cloud was created by the serpent, *bilumbira*, who can be seen travelling in it. The triangles on either side are small broken cumulus clouds. At *g* is a crocodile, *barou*, and a stone fish, *kaunbiriunja*. The transverse panels, *b*, *c*, *d*, picture rough seas, and the short lines surrounding the whole design, reefs in the sea at Cape Arnhem.

The designs on H refer to the *bilumbira* serpents hanging from the branches of the *menin* trees at Cape Arnhem after having caused the wet-season thunderstorms to form.[4] In panel *a* are two *bilumbira*, shown upside down, hanging from the branches of a *menin* tree. The male is on the left. The triangles at *b* are small clouds also created by the serpents. The queen fish, *tinimbu*, in panel *c*, is associated in some unidentified way with the northerly wind, *lunguruma*,[5] indicated by the parallel lines on either side of the fish. When the *lunguruma* wind is blowing there is a plentiful food supply.

The Serpent, Bilumbira

The serpents, *bilumbira*, are highly-coloured, dangerous creatures, with long projecting teeth. They are reputed to be over fifty feet in length. During the dry season the *bilumbira* live in a group of submerged rocks, called Daliwa, on the sea floor between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw. Should anyone paddle near by, the *bilumbira* will rise to the surface and with their long teeth destroy the canoe and its occupants. Another *bilumbira* totemic place is on the north side of Cape Arnhem.

When the wet season starts, the *bilumbira* leave their home at the bottom of the sea and make the large thunder-clouds, in which they travel. The aborigines believe that the thunder is their voice and the lightning their tongues. The aborigines claim that during the wet season there are always thunder-clouds over the home of the *bilumbira* at Cape Arnhem.

Plate 112D shows a serpent travelling in a thunderstorm. On either side are young thunderstorms 'growing up', to use an aboriginal term. At the base of the 'young' thunderstorms, at *a* and *b*, the cross-hatching indicates falling rain.

4. See Pl. 112C.

5. See Yirrkalla winds, p. 133.

*1713
1718
●825
*532

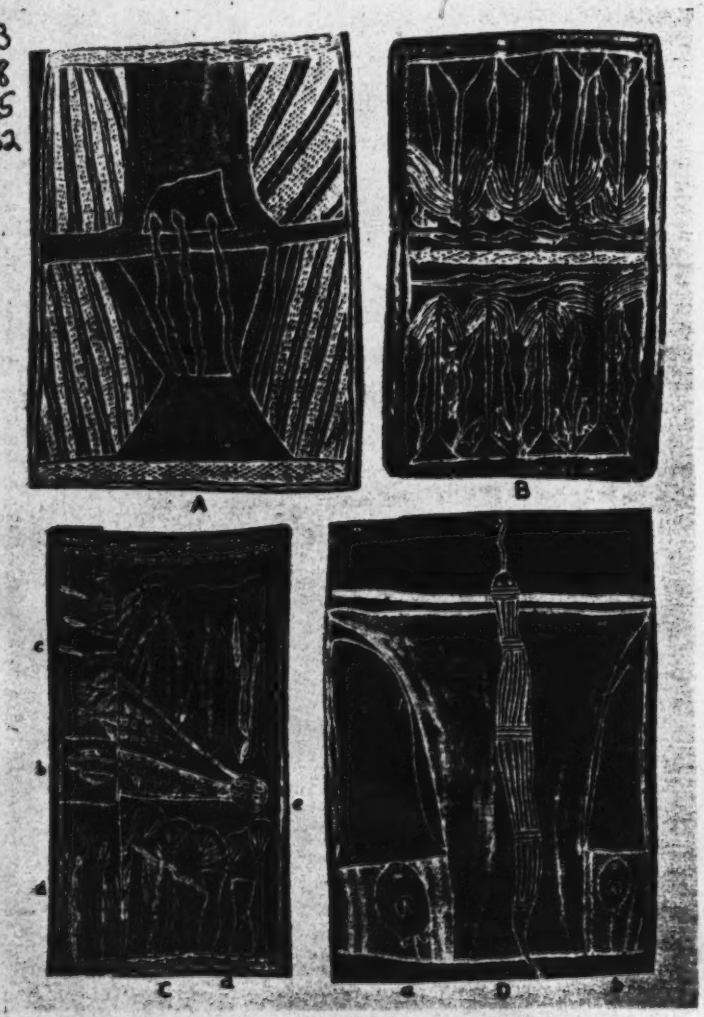

PLATE 112. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla
The serpent, bilumbira

3: Mountford E-S (1948) 1956 OU7 Muragin OU7

The two stingrays, shown in the centre of the rain, are travelling to the mangrove swamps to give birth to their young.[6]

Plate 112A is another painting illustrating the myth of the *bilumbira*. The main features above and below the central line are two large thunderstorms in which three serpents are travelling. The parallel lines of cross-hatching in the four corners of the painting depict the falling rain.

Plate 112B deals with the totemic place of the *bilumbira* on the northern side of Cape Arnhem. In the lower panel are *menin* trees, and at their base four jungle-fowls (*Megapodius reinwardt*) scratching up their mounds.[7] Hanging from the branches or flying through the air are a number of the *bilumbira* serpents. The human figures are *Mokoi*.[8]

The upper panel shows similar trees with jungle-fowl mounds at their base, and birds, presumably jungle-fowls, in the branches. As in the upper panel, there are serpents flying through the air or hanging from the branches.

Plate 112C is an elaboration of the previous painting, the upper and lower right-hand panels referring to the same trees and serpents as those shown on B. In the lower right, at *a*, the two square-topped designs with the serpent entering from the left indicate the submerged rocks at Daliwa, the dry-season home of the *bilumbira*. The upper and lower left-hand panels, *c* and *d*, show additional trees with mounds at their base and, presumably, jungle-fowls in their branches. On the centre left at *b* is a *Mokoi*. The triangular section in the centre of the right-hand side of the painting refers to the swamp lands on the coast adjacent to the totemic place of the *bilumbira*. In the lower section of the triangle are unidentified birds and in the upper section, a *Mokoi* lying down, and near by a group of circles representing some unidentified fruit. More fruits are shown in the circle at *e*.

(3) Animals and Birds

The Hawk-man, Wabula, and the Butterfly-girl, Bounba

The hawk-man, *Wabula*,[9] was without a wife. One day when he was feeling particularly lonely he came across a camp of butterfly-people, *Bounba*,[10] sitting under the trees. *Wabula* was attracted by the eldest sister, resting in a special hut on one side, and made plans to capture her for his wife. Going to a nearby beach, he caught a number of lobsters, called *maitka*, cooked them and, wrapping some of them in paper-bark, returned to the camp of the butterfly-people, and offered them to the eldest sister. As she came forward to take the food

6. Myth, p. 340.

7. The jungle-fowls, by their calls, attract the *jiaitja* spirits of the dead to a forest near Port Bradshaw; from there, the spirits set out on their journey to the *jiaitja* heaven. Myth, p. 229.

8. These spirit people, *Mokoi*, have a totemic place on the southern side of Cape Arnhem.

9. In another myth the hawk, *wabula*, is associated with the native cat. See p. 357.

10. According to Warner (1937), p. 424, the butterfly, *barn-ba*, is closely associated with the morning star, *barnumbir*, and lives on the top of it.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*773 ●825 *W'abula* caught her by the wrist and, carrying her to his bark hut in the forest, blocked up all the openings so that she could not escape.

The girl, *Bounba*, afraid and lonely, cried all the night for her father, *Jumundik*,[1] to help her. He, being a skilled magician, had a spear-thrower with which he could perform many wonders. The first time he rubbed it, a heavy wind sprang up which shook the bark hut so much that cracks appeared everywhere. By rubbing his spear-thrower the second time, *Jumundik* transformed his daughter into a butterfly so small that she was able to escape through one of those cracks.

When *W'abula* awoke in the morning and found that *Bounba* had escaped, he changed himself into a hawk, so that he could live in the same element as the girl.

*773 *532 Plate 113A pictures the story of the hawk-man, *W'abula*, and the butterfly girl, *Bounba*. In the upper left-hand corner, at *a*, the eldest sister is resting within her hut, shown as a crescent. The five human figures immediately below are her brothers and sisters of varying ages, the upper two being infants. The designs on the left lower edge, at *b*, are the lobsters, *maitka*, which *W'abula* caught to entice the girl from her hut. Reading from the left, the first three and the sixth are complete lobsters, the fourth has its claws removed, and the fifth is the parcel of cooked lobsters which *W'abula* wrapped in paper-bark to give *Bounba*. Immediately to the right of number six is the man, *W'abula*, taking hold of the wrist of the girl, *Bounba*, as she reached for the parcel of lobsters.

Within the triangle on the upper right, at *d*, is the bark hut of *W'abula*, in which the hawk-man (upper) and the butterfly-girl (lower) are asleep. On the lower right at *c* is the girl's father, *Jumundik*, rubbing his special spear-thrower. This spear-thrower not only created the storm which caused the openings in *W'abula*'s bark hut (one is shown as a dark line on the left-hand side of the hut), but also transformed his daughter into a butterfly so that she could escape.

W'abula is depicted as a hawk on the upper right of the painting and *Bounba* as a butterfly immediately below him.

The Echidna-man, Tjiramuna, and the Plovers, Tjutju

One day, a long, long time ago, a flock of plover-men, *Tjutju* (*Lobibyx miles*), were hunting in the forest a few miles south of Port Bradshaw when they saw their enemy, the echidna-man, *Tjiramuna* (*Echidna aculeata*), and his wives asleep beside their camp-fire. Taking advantage of this, the plover-men sneaked up quietly and threw so many spears into the body of the echidna-man that he died. Next morning, however, *Tjiramuna* returned to life and, seeing that the spears of the plovers had grown into his skin, he transformed himself into an echidna. When the plover-men, *Tjutju*, saw what a grotesque, clumsy creature their enemy, *Tjiramuna*, had become (see sketch of an echidna, Pl. 62C), they

[774] 11. *Jumundik* is also in charge of the *dua* heaven. Djinia, of the Milingimbi people, p. 328. The link between *Bounba*, the morning star, *banumbir*, and the *dua* heaven is of interest.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 Before he died, however, *Baraguma*, incensed at being robbed of life by the selfishness of the hawk-man, decreed that from that time onward not only *H'abula*, the hawk-man, but the whole of creation, once dead, would never come to life again.[13] Previous to that decree everything and everyone died but for a short while, then returned to life to continue another cycle of their existence.

[825] The white spots on the fur of the present-day native-cat (*Dasyurus* sp.) were once, according to the myth, splashes of light-coloured mud which the fishing net had spattered over *Baraguma's* body.

*773 *532 Plate 113D illustrates the native-cat and hawk myth with considerable detail. In the upper left-hand panel, *a*, is the native-cat man covered with splashes of mud from his net. Between his feet is a cone-shaped figure which represents the fishing net. The square above is the oven where *Baraguma* cooked the fish. The other creature within the panel is the kangaroo-man, who later transformed *Baraguma* into a native-cat and *H'abula* into a hawk. The horizontal central design, *b*, depicts the stream in which the native-cat man netted the fish, and the diagonal lines on each side, subsidiary creeks flowing into the main stream. In the triangle *c*, on the upper edge of the painting, are some of the fish netted by *Baraguma*.

The meeting of *Baraguma* and *H'abula* at the lagoon is illustrated in the lower panel, *d*. The native-cat man, with his spotted skin, is shown again at the right of the panel. In front of him are two fish he caught in the lagoon. On the left of the panel is the hawk-man, *H'abula*. The cone-shaped design between *H'abula* and *Baraguma* is a rock where the latter rested.

Plate 114A is an example of the individualism of the aboriginal artist, for although the underlying myth is the same, this representation differs greatly from the work of the previous artist.

The central design of this painting is the fishing net; the human figure to the right is *Baraguma*, the native-cat man, and to the left *H'abula*, the hawk-man. The five fish at *a*, lower right, belong to *Baraguma*, and the five fish at *b*, lower centre, to *H'abula*. The kangaroo-man, who was responsible for transforming both *Baraguma* and *H'abula*, is shown above the net. The cross-hatched areas indicate the stream and paper-bark swamps at Blue Mud Bay.

Frogs, Garakman, at Milungwira Swamp

Except that this painting, Pl. 114B, is associated with Milungwira, few other details were gathered. An examination of Pl. 121C, however, shows the carapace, in black, resting on a rectangle, with the fish, *bilda*, above it. There are four frogs, *garakman*, in the lower, and one in the upper panel.

The lines and cross-hatched panels below the frogs indicate rain made by the creatures.[14]

13. This is similar to the decree laid down in the moon myths.
[825] 14. In Arnhem Land and Melville Island the frog is always associated with rain.

31 Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*1773 225 The three aborigines, having between them made a new rope and spear, set out in a canoe to capture a turtle. They speared one, and hauled it to the surface, but were unable to pull the turtle close enough to the canoe to kill it. One of the aborigines had just jumped overboard to push the turtle within reach of his companions, when two large whales surfaced, one on either side of the canoe, almost swamping it. The men in the canoe, fearful of what might happen to [501] their companion, told him to swim under the canoe, and enter it over the stern, the usual way. But when he did so he dived into the mouth of one of the whales. As the creature surfaced, the aborigines saw the legs and buttocks of their companion protruding from its mouth.

Although the first reaction of the two fishermen was to paddle from the scene of the tragedy, they soon came back in the hope that they could retrieve the body. But they did not and had to return to camp to tell the sad news. Next morning, however, two boys, when looking for turtle eggs, found the body cast up on the beach.

136 The bark painting, Pl. 115C, represents what is probably the hump-backed *532 whale, which is known to frequent the waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The aborigines described this whale, which they called *dianmeri*, as a large fish, considerably longer than a canoe, which floats on the surface of the sea, a characteristic of the hump-backed whale. The curving lines on either side of the head represent the water parting as the creature swims along the surface, and the ovals down the central part of the body, the light-coloured skin markings of this whale. According to my informants the whale, *dianmeri*, has two mouths in [825] its tail, shown as ovals, with which it takes hold of a canoe to capsize it.

The Night-bird, Karawak, and the Opossum, Marungo at Cape Shield

*1773 During mythical times the night-bird, *karawak* (unidentified) lived by himself at Milingimbi. One night, feeling lonely, he flew to the top of the tree in which he lived and called out to an opossum, *marungo*, whose home was in a hollow tree at Djerakoi, Cape Shield, near Blue Mud Bay, to come over and talk to him. But the opossum did not even reply. *Karawak* then flew to the Wessel Islands, then to Arnhem Bay and then to Cape Arnhem, at each place asking the opossum to pay him a visit, but the opossum made no sign of even having heard the night-bird. Finally *karawak* flew to the hollow tree at Cape Shield, the home of the opossum, and settling on the upper branches, again repeated his request. As soon as it was dark, the opossum left his nesting hollow and, climbing to the top of the tree, talked with *karawak* the whole night long. When, however, the first light of dawn came in the sky, the opossum descended the tree and went to sleep in a hollow limb. From that time until now, the night-bird, *karawak*, calls at night, the only time that the opossum will leave his home in the hollow tree and talk to him.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

773*
532*
825
[211
293]

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

Two bark paintings, a ceremonial message stick[19] and a staff,[20] used in the *karawak* totemic rituals, were made by the Yirrkalla aborigines.

The central design on Pl. 115E is the totemic hollow tree at Djerakoi, Cape Shield, with *karawak*, the night-bird, sitting on top of it. The black semicircles at *a*, *a*, and *b*, *b*, and similar designs on the trunk, are openings in the hollow tree, the home of the opossum, *marungo*. At dusk the opossum leaves the opening, *a*, climbs the tree and, entering *b*, keeps *karawak* company during the hours of darkness. At the first sign of dawn the opossum leaves *karawak* and, descending the trunk, enters the hole *a* and goes to sleep. On the right is the opossum ascending, and on the left, descending. The short white marks on the trunk of the tree are the scratches made by the claws of the opossum as he climbs up and down. The meandering lines on panels *c*, *c*, *c*, *c*, *c*, *c*, indicate marks in the mud at the base of the totemic tree made by the opossum, *marungo*, the ghost crabs, *gunjun*, and an unidentified lizard, *gainnerena*. In some undetermined way these three creatures are associated in the myths.

On Pl. 115B the tall vertical figure in the middle of the painting is the hollow totemic tree at Djerakoi on which *karawak* seated himself to talk to the opossum. Flying round *karawak* are five cicadas. A number of opossums are shown ascending the tree after dark and descending when dawn breaks. The short white lines indicate the scratches made on the tree by their claws. The upper six panels of wavy lines, *a*, *a*, *a*, *a*, *a*, *a*, represent the footmarks of the opossums as they walked round the totemic tree. The circles at the corners of the square, *b*, are the holes of the crabs, *gunjun*, which followed the opossum to the tree, and the lines joining the circles are the tracks made in the sand by the crabs as they walked from one hole to another.[21] In the squares, *c*, on the lower left are four dingoes. The surrounding designs are the paths of the dingoes, and the dots are their tracks.

The Dugongs, Merinjunga

Two bark paintings deal with the fragment of a myth about some mythical dugongs (*Dugong australis*) which once lived at Bartu, near Cape Wilberforce. One of the dugongs was killed by a mythical man, *Oramula*.

773*
532*

In Pl. 116C the large dugong, *merinjunga*, is dead. The broken lines on his head are the maggots crawling from his body, and the cross-hatched bands, the strips of meat, as they are cut from the animals by the aborigines. There was no explanation of the cross-hatched background. Interpretation made by F. D. McCarthy.

Plate 116A shows a male and a female dugong, *merinjunga*, at Gongora, near Cape Wilberforce. The cross-hatched panels leading from their heads represent submarine grass, the food of the dugongs. The vertical panels, *a*, symbolize the ripples on the water and the bubbles coming to the surface as the creatures feed on the sea bottom.

19. Fig. 65A, B. 20. Pl. 134E.
21. Myth, p. 298, and design of the crabs, *gunjun*, on bark painting, Pl. 115F.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*773
*532
136
825

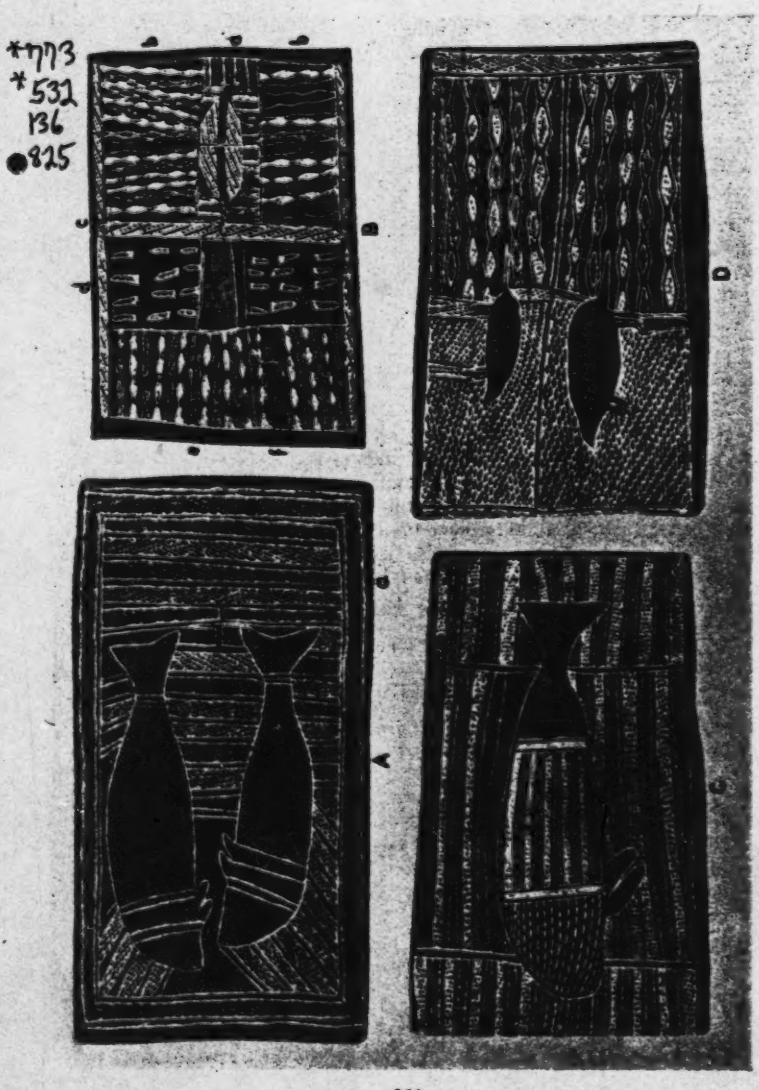

PLATE 116. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A, C The dugong, merinjunga B, D The bandicoot, warni-kura, and fire

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Muregin OE17

The Bandicoot-men, Warut-kura

During mythical times the bandicoot-men, *Warut-kura*, made a nest at Bian-bian-bui, close to the Gainmaui River where *Wirili* and his companions allowed their camp-fire to set fire to the countryside.[22] Although the fire destroyed the nest of the bandicoots, the creatures themselves escaped destruction by running away. The place where the bandicoot made his nest is now an open plain, in the centre of which is a lagoon filled with large paper-bark trees. According to the myth, the fire is still burning under the water of the lagoon, although no one can see it.

Plate 116D shows two bandicoots, *warut-kura*, in their burning nest at Bian-bian-bui. The lines of lozenges represent the bush-fire and the cross-hatched left-hand panel, smoke from the fire.

On Pl. 116B the bandicoot is on panel *a*, with panels of fire, *b*, *b*, on either side of him. The bands between the lozenges indicate the charcoal and ashes. The cross-hatched panel, *c*, is a dry watercourse near the totemic place of the bandicoot. At *f* is the man, *Munijoi*, who was associated with the bush-fire on the Gainmaui River; the flames of fire are indicated on the left-hand panel. The footprints are those of the men at the ceremonial ground.

The Geese, Wurumatji, at Duwalaila Swamp

During creation times large flocks of geese, *wurumatji*, once lived on the Duwalaila swamp east of Arnhem Bay. Their food was the bulbs, *rukia*, of the spike rush.

One day, when they were feeding in the middle of the swamp, *Tjambunal*, the thunder-man, passing overhead in a cumulus cloud, called out (thundered) so loudly that the geese took fright and flew to another swamp on the mainland south of Milingimbi, where they have remained ever since.

Plate 128C is a painted ceremonial object associated with the mythical geese. The cross-hatched vertical panels, *a*, *a*, *a*, are low hills near the Duwalaila swamp, and the circles, waterholes in the bottom of which (indicated by dots) are white stones and *rukia* bulbs. The transverse lines, *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*, are streams of running water and the horizontal lines on both the right- and left-hand panels, aboriginal roads between the waterholes.

This design, belonging to the *jambakbinwa mata* of Arnhem Bay, was painted on the body of a *dua* initiate before initiation (see body painting, Pl. 129D).

(4) Reptiles

The mythical serpent occupies an important place in the beliefs and the ceremonial life of the aborigines of Arnhem Land, as, indeed, it does, or did, throughout the whole of aboriginal Australia.[23]

The beliefs surrounding the serpent *jurlungur*, which swallowed the *Wawalik* sisters, went into the sky and caused great floods,[24] forms the bases of the most

22. Myth, p. 229, Pl. 93B.
23. Brown (1929), p. 21; Mountford (1940), p. 145.
24. Warner (1937), ch. IX.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

important ceremonial cycles in Arnhem Land. The serpent *aitja*,[25] the dominant ancestor in the *arnwaltja* ceremony of Groote Eylandt, also created many waterholes and rivers, finally inhabiting his last creation, Jara-ana water.

Serpents in one form or another live in most of the important waterholes in Arnhem Land; others live in the thunderstorms and, travelling between the clouds, occasionally strike the earth beneath with their tongues. These serpents, under many names, are invariably associated with water, and sometimes with the rainbow.[26] They are usually highly coloured, like the rainbow, are of huge size, and often have a mane and a beard. In a few localities along the north coast of Arnhem Land, however, the heads of some serpents resemble a block of weathered stone. The mythical serpents of Arnhem Land are always dangerous to strangers who go near their waterholes, and even to those aborigines who do not perform the proper rituals before they approach the sacred places. In the Yirrkalla area a number of mythical serpents, living in the thunder-clouds, belong to rain, lightning and thunder.

The Lightning Snake, Wunungu

The lightning snakes, *wunungu*,[27] who live in the sky during the wet season, can often be seen passing from one cloud to another in the form of lightning. During the dry season the *wunungu* take on the form of one of the dangerous snakes of the jungle, who, before they bite an aboriginal, eat the leaves of the *menin* vine to make their venom more deadly. The young of the *wunungu* also live in the jungle, but when adult they, like their parents, go into the sky during the rainy season.

Plate 117A shows two *wunungu* snakes passing from one cloud to another. The light grey figures at the top of the painting are three thunder-clouds, from the bottom of which rain is falling (parallel cross-hatched lines). The thick black vertical band, *a*, in the lower panel represents the wet-season wind, *bara*.

Plate 117C shows three *wunungu* snakes in a jungle, eating the leaves of the *menin* vine. The triangular symbols on the borders represent the clouds in which the snakes live. The three serpents have their heads in the branches of the *menin* vine (central design).

The Crocodiles, Baron, at Caledon Bay

In early times the crocodiles, *baron*, left the Roper River country and travelled northward until they reached the swamps at Blue Mud Bay. As these were extensive and well stocked with food, most of the crocodiles decided to remain there. Some of them were not satisfied with the conditions at Blue Mud Bay so, accompanied by the blanket lizard, *baltjira* (*Chamydosaurus kingii*), they

25. Myth, p. 27.

26. Warner (1937), p. 341, relates a myth about a serpent which causes floods and whose body is the rainbow.

27. See painted sacred object of the serpent, *wunungu*, Pl. 134A. The serpent *wunungu* is also present in the myths and ceremonies of Milingimbi, p. 447.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

journeyed northward until they reached the Kuriatpa swamps[28] at Caledon Bay. These were so full of fish that the reptiles decided to make it their permanent camp. Being cold and uncomfortable the crocodiles, with the aid of the blanket lizard, made a fire and were just sitting down to warm themselves, when a little bird, *djiriku*, came along and asked if he could join them. But he had no sooner stretched out to get warm than the fire exploded, scattering embers everywhere. This gave the creatures a great fright; the *baron* dived into the water and even today, as crocodiles, seldom come to land; *baltjira* changed himself into a lizard and ran up the trunk of a tree; and the little bird, *djiriku*, was burnt so badly that his feathers are now a reddish-brown colour.[29] The fire went underground but the smoke, according to the aborigines, still rises from a hole in the ground near the Kuriatpa swamps.[30]

One engraved pipe and a bark painting deal with the myth of the crocodile, *baron*. The pipe is described elsewhere.[31]

Plate 117B illustrates the crocodile and its nest at the Kuriatpa swamps of Caledon Bay. The vertical lines of lozenge shapes, *a*, *a*,[32] are leaves of the spike rush, and the horizontal lines, *b*, *b*, the places where the crocodile pushed the grass aside as it walked through the swamp. On the lower right, at *c*, is the crocodile's nest covered with grass. The lozenges within the nest are eggs and those at each end the grass which the crocodile pulled over the nest to hide its eggs.

The Dua Snakes of the Tjutjulili Swamps of Trial Bay

At the beginning of time, all the dangerous snakes belonging to the *dua* moiety lived in a cave situated on an open plain called Tjutjulili, near Trial Bay. They had as their leader a female snake, *dunbania*, who is now the tiger snake.

On the seashore near by there was a tribe of peaceful fish people who gained their living from the sea. One day, before they went to an adjacent mangrove creek to fish, they put some crabs to cook on the fire. When later they returned to camp, tired and hungry, they found that the *guludjuru*, called the 'dogs' of the snakes, had taken the food from the fire and eaten it. The fishers were so annoyed that they tracked the 'dogs' and killed them. When the snakes heard of this, they were most indignant and, arming themselves with spears, set out, with the tiger snake woman at their head, to punish the fish people. They, being

28. Map, Fig. 37.

29. Mountford (1938), p. 26, records a Pitjendadjara myth which states that the present markings of many of the small desert birds and reptiles are the result of burns received in a bush fire.

30. See myth of the bandicoot and fire. There is also an Aranda myth of Central Australia which states that smoke issues from the ground at a place west of Alice Springs where there had been an extensive bush fire during creation times. Similarly, in the northern Flinders Ranges of South Australia the myths relate how, after the snake *akaru* rose from the summit of Mt Hitten, the mountain has given out smoke ever since. As there are no active volcanoes in Australia, it may be that these myths are a tribal memory of seismic activity with which the aborigines were associated in the long distant past. Mountford (1937, 1942), field notes.

31. Engraved pipe, Fig. 98.

32. This is a *gumalij mata* design, Fig. 64B.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Murngin OE17

unaware of the danger that threatened them, were easily surrounded and killed. Later, however, the fish people came to life again and changed themselves into the *dua* fish that now live in the sea, the barramundi, the parrot fish, the rock cod and many others. At the same time, the home of the *dua* snakes was transformed into the 'Djutjulili swamps, where many of the snakes still live and which others visit periodically to renew their venom by drinking its waters.[33]

'Two bark paintings deal with the snakes at the 'Djutjulili swamps.

In the upper panel of Pl. 117D[34] are the *dua* snakes of 'Djutjulili. On the upper right of the lower panel the same snakes, *dunbania*, the tiger snake, *balara*, the grey snake, *witi*, the black snake, *jangi*, the mangrove snake, *napili*, *naimeilu*, *garrunga*, *malara-korup* and *lutia*. On the left at *a* are the goannas, the *gulad-jurn*, the 'dogs' of the serpents. In the lower right at *b* is *Dijal*,[35] the boomerang man, with his honey baskets on one arm and a boomerang in his left hand. The panels of short lines above represent the rain created by *Dijal*. His association with the *dua* snakes is not known.

On Pl. 118F, *dunbania* the tiger snake and *nwaroko* (unidentified), accompanied by the blue-tongued lizard, *bungalong*, are travelling to the 'Djutjulili swamps so that they can drink its water and thus strengthen their venom before they bite the aborigines.

The upper cross-hatched chevron design is the 'Djutjulili swamps. The three short snakes are the *dunbania* and the seven longer ones the *nwaroko*. The blue-tongued lizard occupies the central position.

The Jiviljn Snake, Barodji, at the Koolatong River

In *bumun* (creation) times the snake, *barodji*, accompanied by his wife, left the Rose River country[36] and travelled northward until he reached Naiori, near the present-day Koolatong River. Until *barodji*'s arrival there were no natural features at Naiori. *Barodji*, however, made rain which filled all the swamps, lagoons and fresh-water streams emptying into the Naiori swamps. After that the mythical snake created a number of the groups of men and women who now live in the vicinity of Blue Mud Bay, the *mungilili*, the *wonguri*, the *gumatj* and the *gulabringa*. To each of these groups[37] he gave a special design which they must use in the ceremonies.

The central transverse panel, *a*, of Pl. 118F, is a bamboo swamp at Naiori and the panels *d*, *d*, *d*, *d*, extensive lagoons at Naiori. A fresh-water stream flows along the lower central vertical cross-hatched panel *c*, to the bamboo swamp at *a*, and another along the upper cross-hatched vertical panel *b*, entering swamp *a*. These swamps and streams were all created by the snake, *barodji*.

33. Myths, p. 300.
34. Interpretation by D. M. Scrutes.
35. Myth of Dijal, p. 292, and bark painting, Pl. 92D.
36. Map, Fig. 1.
37. This is a parallel myth to that of *Banaitja* and *Daitjun*, p. 270, explaining the origin of some of the *jiviljn* groups of Blue Mud Bay and their specific designs.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*1773
825
*532

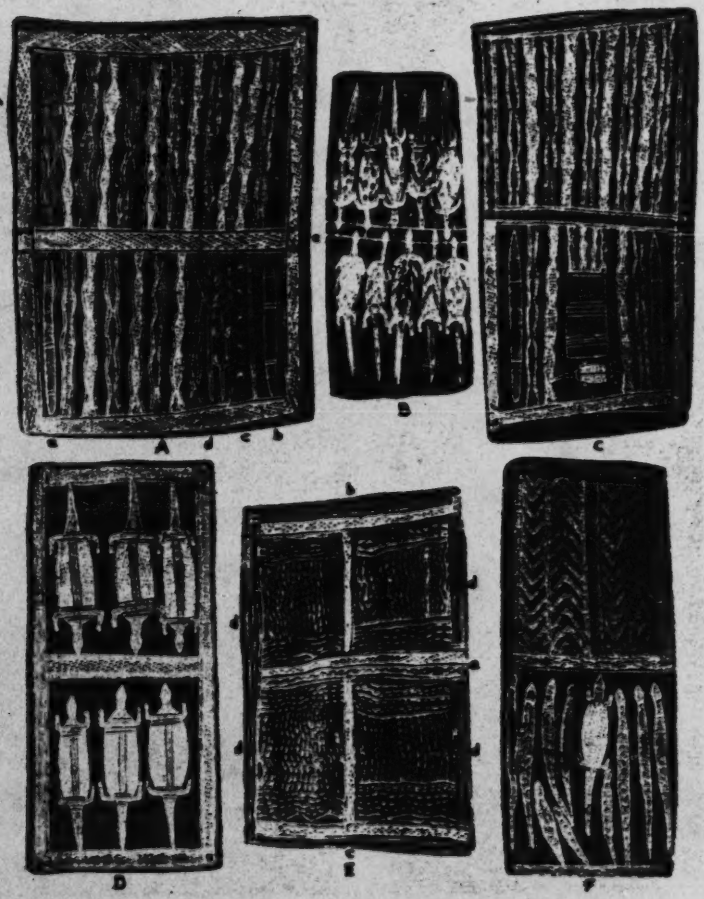

PLATE 118. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A, B, C, D The goanna, bije E The swamp, Naiori
F The snakes, Tjutjulili Swamps

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

The Fresh-water Goanna, Bije, and Yellow Ochre

At Guruŋga, Caledon Bay, the mythical fresh-water goannas, *bije*, when digging out their nesting burrows, discovered both black and yellow ochres. During creation times a *jiritja* mythical man, *Wirili*, also excavated the ochres with a digging stick. When the men of the *jiritja* moiety go to Guruŋga to collect these ochres they must approach the totemic place by crawling along the ground and, while digging out the ochre, use only a special ceremonial stick, called *kainina*.

On Pl. 118A the vertical lines of lozenge-like designs[38] symbolize the yellow ochre at Guruŋga. At *a*, and *b*, in the lower panel, are two digging sticks, *kainina*, which in mythical times were used only by the man *Wirili* and today only by the men of the *jiritja* moiety when digging for ochre. *Wirili*'s tracks are shown at *c*, on the lower right. In the next panel, *d*, is a large tree, *gäŋjo*, in whose branches a night-bird, *kurunuk*,[39] is eating the fruit of the tree. Beside the trunk of the tree is the fresh-water goanna, *bije*, which once dug for ochre in the same place as the man, *Wirili*. The central cross-hatched band, *e*, is a hole in the cliff where *Wirili* was unsuccessful in his search for ochre.

Plate 118C shows the goanna, *bije*, at the bottom of the painting. Above and on either side of the reptile the designs represent the black and yellow ochres. The two ceremonial digging sticks are shown on the extreme right and extreme left of the lower panel.

Plate 118D pictures six mythical fresh-water goannas, *bije*, which lived at Guruŋga, Caledon Bay.

Plate 118B is a bark painting from Milingimbi which depicts ten fresh-water goannas, *bije*, at Guruŋga. This painting is included to show the stability of this totemic design over a wide area.

The Fresh-water Tortoise, Mimala, at Kulwitji Lagoon, Koolatong River

The *jiritja* mythical fresh-water tortoise, *mimala*, has a number of totemic places in north-eastern Arnhem Land. One myth, engraved on a smoking pipe, Fig. 59D, deals with *mimala* at Calabalbai, south of Milingimbi. Others deal with a painted coffin, Pl. 105B (*mimala* at Milingimbi); a painted bull-roarer, Pl. 144A, B (*mimala* at Diawirinja, west of Arnhem Bay); a Milingimbi bark painting, Pl. 126A (*mimala* at Jaraga, a forest area near Arnhem Bay), and the subject of this painting from the Kulwitji lagoon on the Koolatong River. The most complete myth is that associated with the engraved pipe, p. 391.

This painting, Pl. 119A, deals with the totemic lagoon of *mimala* at Kulwitji. In panel *a* is the fresh-water tortoise, the meandering lines at its tail being the wake it creates when swimming. The diamonds and dots occupying the rest of the panel are the bubbles rising to the surface of the water as the tortoise feeds

38. This is one of the designs of the *gumaitj mala*, Fig. 61M.
39. Myth of *kurunuk*, the night-bird, and the opossum, p. 302.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*773 ●825 *532 along the bottom of the lagoon. Panel *b* deals with the time when the wet-season floods submerged a hive of wild bees near the totemic place of the tortoise. Many of the bees were drowned and both they and the honey floated on the surface of the water. The dots represent the drowned bees, and the diamonds the honey from the submerged hive. The patterns on panels *c* and *d* are the leaves of the spike-rush, *norik* or *nakia*.

[229] The parallel white lines on *e* symbolize the fish trap constructed by *Laitjun*,[40] a type of trap still employed to capture a fresh-water fish called *paipinja*.

(5) Fish

The Shark, Mana, at Blue Mud Bay

When the *dua* shark, *Mana* (tiger shark, *Galeocerdo* sp.) was a man he tried to establish a camp at Arnhem Bay, but was speared by *Borolo-borolo*[41] because the latter did not want any strangers near him. *Mana* ran across country to Blue Mud Bay, transformed himself into a tiger shark and tried to live in a fresh-water swamp. But it was far too shallow for his comfort, so he travelled to the sea coast, where he met an old man tiger shark with whom he has lived ever since.

[824] *Mana's* body is now a large white-barked eucalyptus tree in the swamp where he first tried to live. *Mana* the shark continues to live in the sea. This apparent contradiction is not unusual, p. 33. A carved figure, Pl. 132A, illustrates this myth.

Plate 119B pictures the totemic swamp of *Mana*, near Blue Mud Bay.* At *a* is the tiger shark, *Mana*; and at *b* his companion. The wavy lines at their tails symbolize the wake.[42] In the upper and lower panels, the squares[43] on either side of the sharks indicate the fallen leaves of an unidentified palm tree floating on the surface of the water.[44] At certain times of the year the aborigines make a [226] fish trap by blocking the entrance of a watercourse leading into the swamp with these leaves, and driving the fish into it.

Turtles and Fish

Plate 119C depicts the ocean.[45] The upper and lower left-hand panels *a* and *b* show two *dua* green turtles, *gariwa*, in the rough water indicated by the groups of curving lines. On the lower right at *c* are two seagulls, *nurula*, in flight, two dolphins, *injapana*, and two conch-shells. The cross-hatched object on the left of this panel is a trepang. Above this group at *d* is an attempt to depict a water-[132] spout, *bojunga*. These are not uncommon in the Gulf of Carpentaria during the monsoon season. On the upper right at *e* are two fish, and two turtles eating sea-urchins. The groups of curving lines indicate rough water.

40. Engraved pipe, Fig. 60D.
41. See bark painting of *Borolo-borolo*, Pl. 110A.
* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XVIII.
42. This symbol is often used in the art of north-eastern Arnhem Land, e.g. Pl. 115C.
43. These symbols are used on carved figure of the shark, *mana*, Pl. 132A, B, C.
44. The *mata* design of the *dua djapu*, language group, of Blue Mud Bay, Fig. 64A.
45. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.

+773
●825
+532

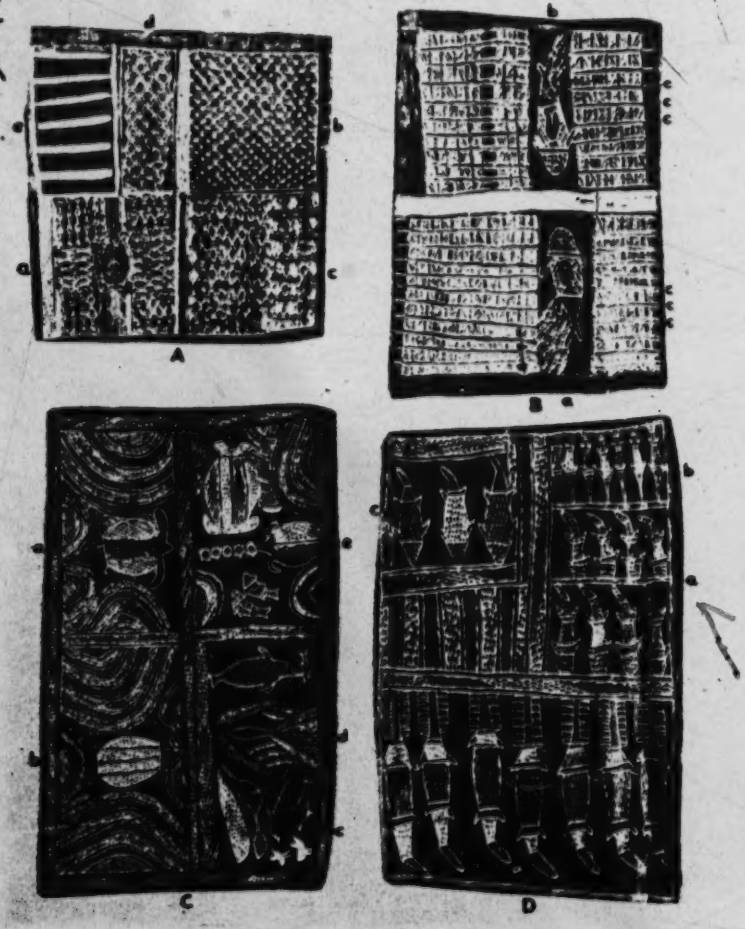

PLATE 119. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A The fresh-water tortoise, mimala B The shark, mana C Turtles and fish
D Salt-water fish

*773
825
*532

Salt-water Fish

Plate 119D depicts a number of salt-water fish.[46] On the bottom is a row of seven saw-fish, *baraka* (*Pristis* sp.). On the right-hand side at *a* are two rows of four sharks, *djerun-berunaui*; above them at *b*, seven gar-fish, *ma-aua* (*Tylosurus* sp); and opposite, at *c*, three shovel-nosed rays, *bandrung* (*Rhynchobatus* sp.). The cross-hatched areas represent the sea.

(6) Insects

The Stingless Honey Bee, Koko

During creation times there were two *dua* groups of the wild bees, *koko* (*Trigona carbonaria aughophorie*), the male ancestor being *jarapang* and the female, *lirawar*. These male and female bee ancestors lived in a hollow tree near the edge of a large swamp at Macuti on the Koolatong River.[47]

Plate 120C represents two hives, the male wild honey, *jarapang*, on the right and the female honey, *lirawar*, on the left. The significance of the divisions are the same in both hives. The dome at the top represents the bee bread (young bees and pupae); *f*, more bee bread; while panels *b* and *d* are honey and *a*, *c* and *e* beeswax. All these parts of the hive are edible. The aborigines distinguish clearly between the flavour of *jarapang* and *lirawar* honey.

[262]

Plate 120A is a representation of a group of hives of the honey bee. The black transverse lines *a*, *a*, picture the limbs of the tree in which the hive is built. The dots in the panel *b* are the bees, the cross-hatched central section, *c*, the honey and the honey-comb. Hard wax, much sought after for mounting spears and other implements, is indicated by the dotted transverse band *d*; the dotted panel *e* pictures the rubbish, dead bees and excreta from the hive. Tree roots are indicated by the lower cross-hatched band, *f*. Both the male hive, *jarapang*, and the female hive, *lirawar*, are in this group. Reading from the right, one, two and five are *jarapang*, three and four *lirawar* hives.

[237]

(7) Topography

The Sea and the Sky

*532

This bark painting depicts a wet-season seascape. It makes an interesting comparison with a painting of a similar subject by a European artist. Although the aboriginal pictured the sky in the same manner as a white man, that is, in side elevation, he has painted the sea in plan, so that he can show the creatures on the sea-floor.[48]

In the upper panel of Pl. 120B are three thunderstorms drifting across the sky. The black bases of the two on the right indicate that they have not yet discharged their rain. The cross-hatching on the upper edge, however, indicates rain. On the left is a thunderstorm which has almost expended itself, although the rain is still falling. The clear space between the storms is the blue sky. The

46. Interpretation by F. M. Setzler. 47. Map, Fig. 57.
48. This characteristic is not unusual in the art of the more advanced people, e.g. Pl. 206.

*773
●825
*532

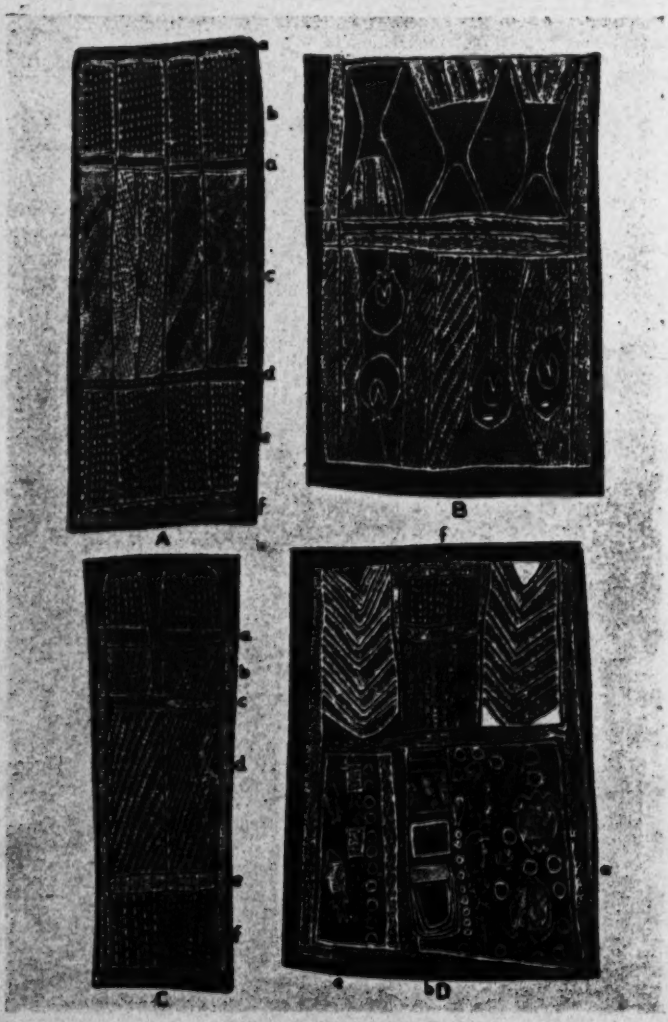

PLATE 120. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla
A, C Honey-bees, Koolatong River B The sea and the sky
D Topography, Trial Bay

31 Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

lower section is the open sea, as viewed from above. The dark cross-hatched areas indicate the sandy sea bottom, and the light-coloured areas the sea. The creatures are stingrays, the crescent-shaped marks on their bodies being masses of fat which the aborigines value as food.*

Trial Bay

Plate 120D pictures the surroundings at a *dua* totemic spot near Trial Bay. At *a* on the lower right-hand panel are two green turtles, *gariwa*, and the sea-urchins (circles), on which they feed. The top turtle has a black seagull resting on its back and the one below, a white bird.[49] The next panel, *b*, shows rocks, Marin, which project above the water at Trial Bay. The vertical cross-hatched band to the left represents the waves beating against the rocks, and the black panel, *f*, another totemic rock, Nangi, the panels of chevron designs on either side of *f* symbolizing the rays of the sun. In the extreme left panel *e* are bone fish, *warawanda*, and a row of sea-urchins.

The Milungwira Swamps and the Men, Laitjun and Bourngauwili

The Milungwira swamp, situated north of Blue Mud Bay at the mouth of the River Girituwi, is an important totemic place in the *jiritja* mythology. It is associated with the mythical man *Laitjun*,[50] another man, *Bourngauwili*, a dingo, *dulairuju*, a water-snake, *gamarana*, and a rat, *nik-nik*.[51]

Four bark paintings are associated with Milungwira and its totemic inhabitants.

Plate 121B pictures the Milungwira swamp and the man, *Bourngauwili*, who with his dog, *dulairuju*, had set out to hunt the rat, *nik-nik*, and yellow water-snake, *gamarana*. In the lower left panel *a* is the dog, *dulairuju*, and in the upper right panel *c* the rat, *nik-nik*, swimming through a swamp covered with the leaves of water-lilies, *jouku*. The meandering lines behind *nik-nik* indicate where it has pushed the lily leaves aside. The upper left and lower right-hand panels *b* and *d* illustrate those parts of the swamp which are covered with water-lily leaves. The bulbs of the lilies are an important aboriginal food. The eight small circles, *e*, *e*, on the outer edge of the design are subsidiary swamps, Mailuju, where small bamboos, used by the aborigines for spear shafts, grow in abundance. The circle in the centre of the painting is the dry-season home of the yellow water-snake, *gamarana*, which no aboriginal will go near. During the wet season these snakes leave their waterhole, go into the sky and create the rain, the thunderstorms and the lightning.[52] The four birds are herons, *balir*; the tracks on the right-hand

* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXII.

49. It is not an unusual sight in the Gulf of Carpentaria to see a bird resting on the back of a basking turtle. The resting bird indicates to the aborigines that the turtle is on the surface.

50. See myth of *Banaitja* and *Laitjun*, p. 279.

51. *Nik-nik* was the 'dog' of the woman, *Mabuluri*. See carved figure, Pl. 133D, and myth, p. 131.

52. This appears to be a parallel myth to that of the *bilumbira* of Cape Arnhem, p. 351.

*1713
*532
●825

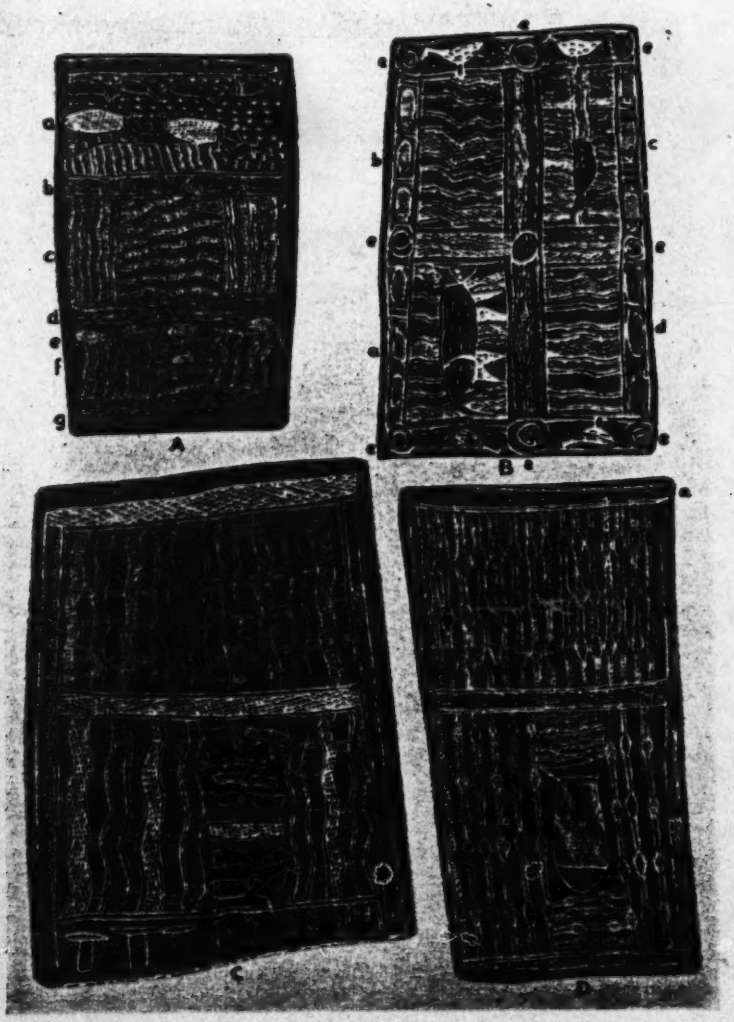

PLATE 121. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A, B The dog, dulaiuju, and the rat, nik-nik C, D The swamp, Milangwira

*773 edge, those made by the mythical man as he walked to Milungwira, and those
*532 on the left, where he returned.

● 825 Plate 121A refers to the dog, *dulairuju*, and his pursuit of the rat, *nik-nik*, in the Milungwira swamp. On the top edge of the painting is a line of dog tracks. Below them are four white herons surrounded by their footprints. At *a* is a male and female dog, each holding a rat, *nik-nik*, in its mouth; the male dog, *dulairuju*, is on the left. Below is a transverse panel, *b*, of dingoes and their tracks. The central panel, *c*, is swamp grass, the home of *nik-nik*. At *d* is a panel of dingo tracks, and at *e* another panel of five dingoes. In the middle of panel *f* the rat, *nik-nik*, is hiding from the dog in the middle of a thicket of swamp grass; *g* is a line of five white herons, *balir*, and their tracks.

On Pl. 121C the bulk of the painting consists of sinuous bands (running water), joined by straight lines (ripples on the surface of the water). The rectangle in the middle of the lower panel is the swamp, Milungwira. In its upper section four cormorants (*Phalacrocorax* sp.) are chasing four fish, called *bilda*. In the panel below are more cormorants. The transverse bands indicate subsidiary swamps at Milungwira. Reading from the left, the figures on the bottom panel are: three clouds, *balda*, the mythical man, *Laitjun*, four frogs, and five logs lying in the water of the swamp.[53]

Plate 121D is another bark painting associated with the topography of Milungwira. The top cross-hatched band, *a*, is the bed of the river, Girituwi, in which there are many waterfalls and rapids. The fish-shaped design in the lower panel is a totemic rock, called Tikorora, whose bottom, according to the myth, is in the mud and whose top is in the clouds. The four short transverse lines of
*532 lozenge-shaped designs above and below Tikorora indicate whirlpools which
825 form at its base during heavy rains.

*773
823

The Island, Garabi

Garabi is a string of small islands outside Caledon Bay, all belonging to the
[423] *jiritja* moiety. In creation times, when the creatures were men, the islands were
[616] the home of the hump-backed whale, *morokundja*, the stingray, *barindjinou*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*, the crocodile, *barou*, and the hawksbill turtle, *kouwarudji*. Later these mythical beings transformed themselves into creatures which still frequent Garabi and their bodies into natural features in the adjacent country. The whales are two rugged islands, part of the Garabi chain. They also went
[821] into the sky and became a section of the Milky Way,[54] near the constellation of Orion.

During those early times the crocodile man, *Barou*, murdered one of the stingray people. When the head man of the stingrays heard of the murder, he met and fought the crocodile, finally wounding him with the spear he now carries in his tail. This fight made everything square and established the first *makaraka*.

53. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
54. See astronomical myth of Orion and the Pleiades, p. 498.

*773
*532
● 825
823

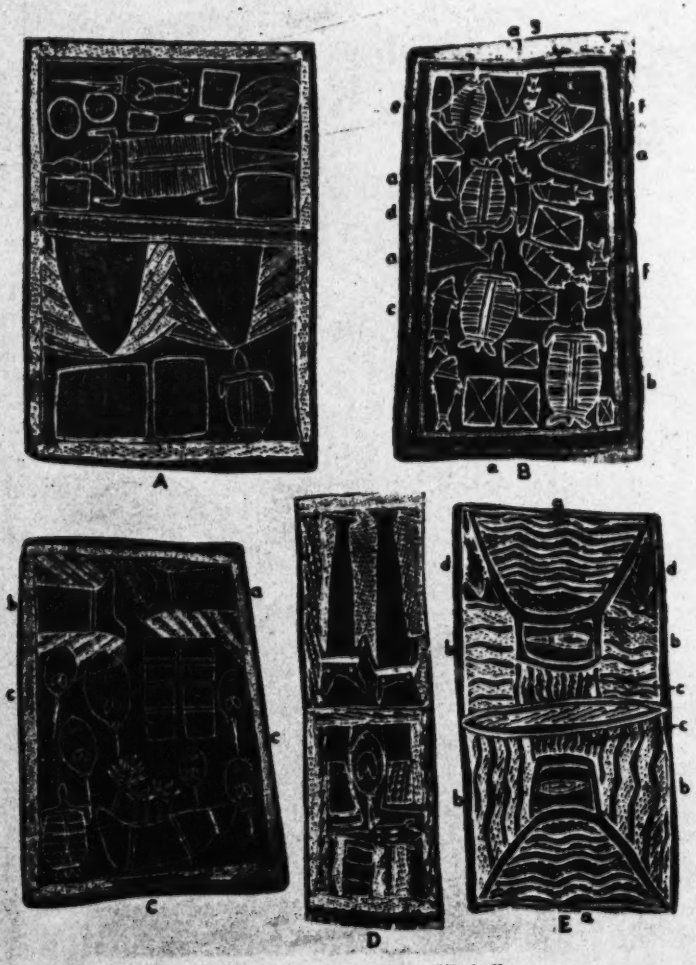

PLATE 122. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla
The Garabi Islands

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

*7773
*532
823
825

or ceremonial peacemaking fight, a custom which has been carried on by the aborigines ever since.[55]

The aborigines made five bark paintings of Garabi and its creatures.

Plate 122A pictures Wakwala, one of the islands of the Garabi group. The two rectangles in the lower panel are the totemic places of the hawksbill turtle and the crocodile. The cone-like figures above are thunder-clouds, with rain falling from them. A hawksbill turtle is on the lower right. In the upper panel is the crocodile and several stingrays. Around them are squares and circles which indicate where the stingrays once buried themselves in the sand.[56] These are now rocks on the sea coast. On the upper right the stingray is attacking the crocodile with his spear to avenge the death of a relative.

Plate 122B illustrates the Garabi Islands and the sea-creatures which live in the surrounding waters.[57] The islands and the large rocks of the Garabi Islands are indicated by *a*, *a*, *a*, and similar designs. There are four hawksbill turtles at *b*, *c*, *d* and *e*, rock cod at *f*, *f*, and a small fish, *jonbauk*, at *g*. On the left-hand side of the turtle at *c* are two queen fish.

Plate 122C is another representation of Garabi. At the bottom of the painting is one of the islands of the Garabi group with five unidentified palm trees growing from it. The aborigines eat the young shoots of these trees, which they call *bulmarik*. At *a* and *b*, on the top edge of the painting, are two thunder-clouds with rain falling from them (cross-hatched panels). A hawksbill turtle (lower left) lays its eggs in the sandy beaches of the island and gathers its food from among the coral rocks (four rectangles right of centre). The rain falling from the clouds, at *a*, *b*, has stimulated the six stingrays, *c*, *c*, to go to the mangrove swamps and produce their young.[58]

The upper panel of Pl. 122D pictures two of the hump-backed whales. Later they went into the sky and their bodies became islands at Garabi. In the lower panel is the stingray spearing the crocodile. The cross-hatched panels on either side of the stingray, and the black rectangles below the crocodile, are holes made by the stingray when, during mythical times, it buried itself in the sand. Those holes have since been transformed into boulders projecting from the sea.

Plate 122E is a descriptive painting of a place at Garabi where swollen streams muddy with the wet-season rains pour into the ocean and mix with the clear sea-water. The semi-circles, *a*, *a*, represent the muddy flood-waters diffusing into the sea; the meandering lines, *c*, *c*, at the bottom of squares depict a mixture of muddy and clear waters, and those at *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*, the uncontaminated sea-water. In squares at the bases of semi-circles *a*, *a*, are mangrove seeds which have taken root in the mud, and at *c*, *c*, two bone fish, *jungalu*. The long ellipse symbolizes a mangrove tree, *landumu*, growing in the mouth of the stream.

55. Warner (1937), p. 174, gives a detailed description of the *mabaraka*.
56. When stingrays are alarmed they bury themselves in the sand to escape notice.
57. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.
58. For myth of stingrays on painted pedalo, Pl. 108F, F, p. 310.

Mamarika[66] (*jiritja*), from the south-east, the major wind of the dry season, is not, during its early stages, a time of plenty. Towards its close, however, the cycad fruit, *natu*, ripens and provides the aborigines with ample food.

Following the *mamarika* is the *tjeleton*, a *jiritja* wind of short duration which blows first from the north-east, changing to the north-westerly *bara*. The cycad fruit is plentiful during this period.

Several other winds of short duration are recognized by the men of Yirrkalla—*djala* (southerly), *jauara* (south-west), and *ritain* (south-south-west). It is surprising that many of these winds were not mentioned by the Groote Eylandters.

Female Figure, Unidentified

Plate 137C, D is a carved wooden figure similar in form to that of the pregnant woman, *Malwulwi* (Pl. 133C, D). I did not collect either the symbolism of the designs or the associated myth.

The Man, Naruwilja

During *bumun* (creation) times there lived at Biobajini, on the Wessel Islands, a fair-skinned *jiritja* man, *Naruwilja*. Not being satisfied with this human existence, he transformed himself into a fish, still bearing the name of *naruwilja*. But as that did not please him he tried the life of an octopus, *mainda*, only to find as little satisfaction in that condition. Finally he changed himself into a flying fox, *matur*, and has remained in that form ever since.

The locality in which the flying foxes live at the Wessel Islands is forbidden to all. Should anyone trespass on their nesting place, and in particular kill a flying fox, the spirit of the creature will change itself into an octopus, enter the body of the miscreant, wrap its tentacles around his heart and kill him.[67]

Plate 136E, F is the carved and painted figure of the transformed man *Naruwilja*. In the right-hand panel of Pl. 136E is the octopus, *mainda*, and in the left, two flying foxes, *matur*. The fish, *naruwilja*, occupies the right-hand panel of Pl. 136F and the octopus, *mainda*, the left-hand panel.

The Macassan Woman, Jubara

Plate 137A, B is the wooden figure of a woman, *Jubara*, who, many years ago, befriended an old aboriginal, *Amalatja*, when he was taken by trepangers to a Macassan village called Jumaina.[68] This figure is the work of *Mungeraui*, the son of *Amalatja*.

66. See Groote Eylandt myths of *bara* (north-west) and *mamariga* (south-east) winds, p. 94.

67. Although I did not obtain the specific information, it is likely that this myth is told to the younger men so that they will not eat the flesh of the flying fox which, in many parts of the Northern Territory, is regarded by the aborigines as 'old man tucker'. There are numerous references to the food prohibitions of the young men in the myths of the Liverpool River area.

68. See description of a Yirrkalla painting of Macassan women weaving, by the same artist, Pl. 93A. The Berndts (1949), p. 213, describe a number of non-sacred carved figures of Macassan and *Baijini* people, most of which had been carved by *Mungeraui*. Their figure on Pl. 2, Fig. 3, is wearing a similar decoration to *Jubara*.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*532 *773 821

drowned. The elder brother kept swimming until he reached a low rock near the shore of the northern end of Blue Mud Bay. But his limbs were so stiff and he was so exhausted by his long swim that he could not reach the shore. Later, their bodies were found on a pebbly beach at the northern end of Blue Mud Bay. When the ants saw what had happened they travelled in long lines to the bodies and bit them all over, hoping to bring them to life,[18] but were unsuccessful. The record of this mishap, which formed the basis for two aboriginal bark paintings, can be seen in and around the Milky Way.

Plate 157C deals with the terrestrial story of the two brothers, and 157A with the celestial.

In Pl. 157C the two brothers, in their canoe, are shown in the upper left-hand panel, with the rock cod they captured immediately below them. At *a* is the elder brother, *Nungumiri*; at *b*, the younger brother, *Jikaneana*; and panel *c*, the pebbly beach on which the dead men were found. The central panel, *d*, represents the watercourse at Blue Mud Bay, now the Milky Way. The parallel and the wavy lines, *e*, indicate the wake of the fish, and *f*, that of the canoe. The parallel transverse lines to the right of the elder brother, *a*, and to the left of the younger, *b*, are the ants travelling to the dead bodies to try and bring them to life. Other vertical lines of black and white dots are ants travelling to the right armpit of the younger brother, *b*, and the left hand of the elder, *a*, respectively. The younger brother is wearing the arm-bands which caused his death.

The two brothers, the fish and the canoe are dark starless spaces in the Milky Way, in the region of Scorpio. The wake of the fish, the canoe, the pebbly beach and the ants are either small stars or nebulae in or adjacent to the Milky Way.

Plate 157A, the celestial story, shows the brothers in the sky, the younger on the left. The rock on which the elder brother landed is the black mark immediately below him. The central panel tells the story of the tragic canoe journey. To the left are the brothers in the canoe, and in the centre the swamped canoe with the brothers struggling in the water. The men and the canoe have all become celestial features. The two men are dark patches in the Milky Way, the younger within the constellation of Serpens, the elder near Sagittarius. The rock on which the elder brother landed is a portion of the Milky Way, near Theta Serpens, and the canoe, a line of four small stars near Antares. The meandering lines which form the upper and lower panels, representing the wake of the fish and the canoe, are luminous portions of the Milky Way, near Scorpio, while the stars in the central panel are either included in or adjacent to the Milky Way.

Orion and the Pleiades

At Yirrkalla, the constellation of Orion is believed to be a canoe full of *jiritja* men, called the *Tjirilpau*, with their wives, the Pleiades, in another canoe.

[789 825]

18. The bites of ants are often used by the aboriginal magicians to restore their victims to life. See Warner (1937), p. 294.

sexual intercourse with the obvious representatives of the "Mother" enable her to fulfil her important function.

Thus, here as in the Ancient East, ritual sex-intercourse is a sacramental act in the cult of the "Great Mother", on which her potency and the survival of man and nature depend. In both regions we are in the presence of a "Mystery Religion". The precious guarded secret is only revealed to the initiated, the twice born, and that secret, that "mystery", is the continuity of life. Life, however, is no mere visible or external phenomenon. In all its forms it has a spiritual counterpart, its "shade". The Cult Mother is more than the Big Woman of the mythological period; she is eternal in the earth, and present and active in her "shade" form in every Kunapipi. The Great Snake, too, Muit or Yermalindji, is present in his symbols at the ceremony, teaching the "reborn" through the traditional words and ritual behaviour of the elders, speaking through them even as the prophet and teacher is the voice of his God. The ritual or "wood" shade, the spirit double of the initiand enters the bullroarer symbol of the Mother and with it remains in her "earth womb" until it goes to the spirit home. While the actors perform their rites to ensure the birth and rebirth of mankind and the "increase" of the Great Mother and the Great Snake as manifested in the rains and the consequent fertility of the earth, the spirit-womb of the Mother is made potent; in addition, as they represent in mime the behaviour of animals, reptiles, birds and insects, the "shades" of these creatures perform the increase ceremonies of their own kind in their own ritual places in the spirit-sphere. Finally, the women who have co-operated in the Kunapipi with their "outside" calls, responses, songs and dance (like the Bundami or Awalambi), and who then take part in the ritual intercourse with men from the Mother Place, become bearers of the latters' ritual or Kunapipi "shades"; at least, such is the doctrine in the Roper River region.

So life is assured to man and nature for it is eternal in the spirit world, in the Great Mother who brings forth and whose impregnating symbol is the Great Snake, the iridescent rainbow which never fails to join the sky to the earth.

Such is the appeal of the cult. Its function in the social and economic life of a food-gathering people in a tropical environment can be studied, and indeed is obvious and logical. A most valuable attempt to analyse the North-East Arnhem Land cults from this point of view has already been made by Professor W. L. Warner in *A Black Civilization*. But why should such a Fertility Goddess cult arise in Arnhem Land and the Victoria River region, and not also in the northern part of the Kimberley Division or in Cape York Peninsula, where the tropical seasons and conditions of living for a parasitic food-gathering people are similar? The answer probably lies in the differences in external contacts. Here it is sufficient to say

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

Comments on Part One of the Songs

This subject is treated in some considerable detail in the secular Bralgu Song Cycle, associated with the Morning Star ceremony (used during mortuary rituals, for Bralgu is the *dua* moiety home of the dead), when a long pole with string and feathered balls is used, and dancing imitates that of the Bralgu Spirits.

The paddling of the Djanggawul in their canoe, and the roar of the sea, are re-enacted in the *dua nara* (see Chapter 1). A spear-thrower is dragged along the ground symbolizing the paddling. The dancers cry *ei ei a:l* which is the sound of the sea, *a:l* being the dull roar as the waves break. Then they lift up their legs, representing the rising waves which carry the canoe to their crests (line 24, Song 1) and then collapse downwards.

Lines 31–2, Song 1, refer to the *ngainmara* and to the *rangga*, which are carried in the bottom of the canoe (*vide* Song 26, in reference to their being sodden). The *rangga* are stored within the mat (= uterus, with children within), and include the *mamwulan*, the yam stick, *djuda* and *djandu* poles. As the canoe rolls, they move about in the mat and rattle (line 32).

In Song 2 (lines 5, 6 and 7) the green-backed turtle is said to possess a dilly bag: this may be seen from the mark of this bag on the turtle's under shell (its 'chest'); it holds its bag under one flipper, as a man holds his dilly bag when walking or dancing. The cuttlefish is also said to represent the bag of this turtle.

Many references are made throughout the songs, in this section of the cycle, to the Baijini folk (for example, Song 4, line 3)—that is, 'Paddling fast as we smell the Baijini from far away.' Several words used in the text are said to be directly associated with these alien people of the *jiritja* moiety: for example, *buragoimin*, 'sea smell' (line 3), which is also said to mean the smell of the smoke from the Baijini fires, at their settlement at Port Bradshaw. The Djanggawul see the smoke rising in the distance, and know that they must be drawing close to the mainland. The Two Sisters talk with their Brother. 'What do we see? What blocks (or obstructs) our passage? There are strangers in that place! They are blocking us, so we shall sing about them. But as soon as we reach Jelangbara (Port Bradshaw) we will move the Baijini: they can't stop, where we intend to have our sacred camp.' As they draw closer, they hear this word, *buragoimin*, drifting over to them, and for that reason it is included in the song.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there is a certain amount of rationalization here. The Djanggawul are frequently said to have been the first 'human' beings to land on the mainland; and yet this contradiction appears in the actual traditional texts, which infer that the *jiritja* Baijini have already settled at Port

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

159 the English Company Island, people who still remembered how to do it
[501] (pages 459-460). Some of the people came out to our boat by lying on a large log and paddling with their hands and feet. I got in the dinghy and went ashore with some of the people on the boat. When my mari saw me
[152] he cried and cried. Some people are like that among us black men. We cry when we meet people just as we cry sometimes when we tell them goodbye. I tried to talk to him, but I couldn't say anything. It was just the same as if I had lost my language. I had to talk to him in the sign language. I felt very foolish. I brought flour with me, but they did not know what it was.
[252] They cooked flour in paper bark just like they did palm tree flour.
[609] All the people were very angry with the white man for keeping me away so long, and some of them sneaked out in the bush and got their spears and clubs and were going to kill the white man. I said no, that it was no good. I said, "The white men talk very hard and sometimes they swear at you, but inside they are all right. Sometimes when they swear, they mean
[439] good." While we were there I got my people to make gifts of turtle shell and pearl to the white man, and he gave them hatchets and knives and calico. I got in the boat and started to go back to Port Darwin with the white man. Cape Don Tommy and the white man quarreled when we got to Croker Island because Cape Don Tommy wanted to sleep on shore. We got out at Croker Island and went by canoe to Cape Don. There I met that girl again, but her husband was there then. We went on to Port Darwin for a moon and came back to Elcho Island. Once more I went into the bush and stayed.

His Wives and Their Parents

159 581 828 825 Black men walk about single and by themselves. At first they have no mates. By and by they find one that belongs to them. By and by children come. White men walk about by themselves. By and by they find a woman, and more children come out. The Macassar man was all the same.

Big old man kangaroo walks about single and by himself. By and by he catches his woman, and then there are little kangaroos. Opossum and fly and bandicoot—they are all the same.

Python catches his mate and by and by there are eggs, then there are children. Frilled-neck lizard, native companion, honeybees, pigeon, hawk-billed turtle, and all those animals—they are just the same.

Black men cut down trees and by and by little ones come up. Everywhere and all the time it is always the same. Walk around single, by and by a mate, and by and by children. There is an inside meaning to this. Some of us old men who are not fools understand. If those two Wawilak creator sisters had not done wrong in their own country and fornicated with those

159 581 828 773 825

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251). 159 581 828 773 825

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 93-98). 159 431 582 583

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight. 159 606

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96). 159 431 604 606

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit. 159 578 604

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, sometimes the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him 159 584

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

755 collecting shellfish, and to cure the child he had pummelled the stomach, subduing the parasite and sucking it out in an invisible form.

[164] A persistent epidemic of dysentery was making its way through the Yirrkala camp, and in desperation I finally dosed the two hundred occupants with castor oil, had all shelters burnt and a new camp made on the opposite side of the creek. There were no further applications for medicine, which suggested that everyone had recovered, and upon inquiry I was complacently told that there could be no further sickness, for on the night following the castor oil episode, the marrnggit had conducted a magical 'sing' and had put a spell on the mischievous spirit that had caused the trouble.

164 152 Aboriginal stamina in privation and suffering is proverbial, and the wounded exhibit stoicism and endurance beyond belief. Usually the only indication of suffering is in the flexing of muscles and the rolling of the head. Internal complaints, pains, and epidemics are much more likely to prove fatal, for they cannot be seen as can an open wound.

753 Imagination plays a big part with internal troubles, and the victim, thinking he is under an evil spell, prepares to die.

825 Yulengor have great fear of venomous snakes, and to show their contempt for non-venomous and edible varieties they insert the head upside down between their teeth and dislocate the vertebrae by jerking down with their hands. In Arnhem Land there are two varieties of venomous brown snakes in addition to the death-adder; although they are not as numerous as might be expected, they are by no means uncommon. One afternoon when I was burning a fire-break round an eight-acre paddock I killed seven death-adders.

752 755 825 Snake-bite can only be treated by first capturing the snake. A forked stick is held behind its head and is later replaced by the string by which it is suspended from a tree. On no account must the snake be killed, for if it is even injured the

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

victim will surely die. Hanging the reptile is part of the cure, and it is thus held hostage for the life of its victim. If the man recovers, the snake is released. It must not be killed even after the man's recovery, for if it were killed the victim would suffer a relapse and die. 752 755 825

Young Geitbapoi was bitten by a snake, and his mother saved his life by capturing the snake and hanging it in a tree. The snake appeared to be dying; the boy's condition also grew worse, and death was expected. But the snake passed a lot of what was said to be the boy's blood, and this was incontrovertible evidence of the reptile's recovery, and likewise its victim's. Therefore the snake was released, and in an hour or so the youth stood up and walked.

Power to kill by magic belongs to an evil witch-doctor known as a 'raggalk', who waylays the man and causes a deep sleep to fall on him so that he may squeeze blood out of his heart. Despite this, the victim lives an ordinary life till the raggalk decides to finish his work by sending a snake to bite him. As with ordinary snake-bite, the raggalk's victim tries to find the snake, to effect a recovery, but such a search is never successful, for the raggalk whisks away his instrument of death. For this reason, when a snake cannot be found after it has bitten someone, the injury it has inflicted is attributed to a raggalk. A marrnggit, or benevolent witch-doctor, can prove that a man has been bitten by a raggalk-snake by lighting a small smoke-fire, seating the man near it and blowing the smoke over him through a hollow pandanus palm-stem. In the curling smoke he sees the spirit of the raggalk emerging from the victim; he announces the name of the killer, and adds that nothing can save the life of the man. 754 752 [756] [787]

Scorpions, stingray, and jellyfish are numerous, but their stings, though extremely painful, are seldom fatal. Scorpions attack women as they dig for yams among the stones on hillsides, and it is said that the groin or arm glands swell 752 [136]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

painfully when a limb is stung. They apply a counter-irritant in the form of a string ligature above and below the wound. Further treatment is given by lighting a fire on wet sand and applying the heated sand to the spot. A third popular theory is to catch the scorpion and squeeze its body juices over the wound.

Stingrays in warm northern waters vary in size from twelve inches in diameter to several feet. I well remember the night when we were two miles off-shore in a canoe and were startled by the splash of a huge black monster surging from the sea some twenty or thirty yards away. Waves from its crash tossed the canoe, and the boys did not allow closer inspection, but madly plied their paddles, for fear of an attack. A wound from an ordinary stingray is extremely painful, and I have known the poisoned barb to be driven through the thickest part of a man's hand. A black wood-beetle, like a cockroach, forms the basis of the cure, and is squeezed into the wound; later, several of the beetles are pulped and plastered over it. In serious cases the plaster is mixed with the crushed tubers of a trailing vine from the sand-dunes. Simpler and speedier relief is obtained by applying hot moist sand.

The Portuguese man-o'-war is well named, and is the worst variety of jellyfish in the Arafura Sea. It has caused the deaths of many children. Youths normally able to bear excruciating pain fall on the beach and scream in agony after brushing against a Portuguese man-o'-war. Its long trailing feeler, invisible in sea-water, carries many small cells charged with poison darts on springs. Delicate triggers hold these in position, so that once the feeler touches an object, the triggers automatically release their paralysing darts. Small fish are paralysed and drawn up to be consumed. Feelers can be quickly rubbed off the body with sand, and probably the Yulengor treatment of applying hot sand does this and also affords some slight relief.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

Sharks attack nomads, and inflict shocking injuries; crocodiles crush arms and legs. Bad wounds from these sources are treated with yellow hibiscus bark beaten into a pulp and applied every few days. In the case of bone-fracture, a few thick grass stalks are bound on as splints, and the hibiscus pulp is applied on the outside. The bark pulp is left on a wound till the pain and odour demand attention, and then both splints and pulp are renewed.

Even a simple break in a bone probably knits crookedly; when a compound fracture is suffered, if gangrene does not kill the patient, pieces of bone work their way out of the limb. Wounds become so painful, that further applications of the irritating grass and bark cannot be borne, and they are then left to Nature to flood and cleanse them with copious streams of pus. I saw one hunter who had sustained a compound fracture above the wrist from a crocodile. After a long course of Yulengor treatment, six inches of his forearm bone had dropped out, and the wound had healed. But thereafter he was unable to control his hand, and it flapped uselessly by his side.

An adult with a stubborn open sore will search at low tide for a large anemone, and place the sore in the centre of the soft mass. The anemone automatically contracts, and the patient then tears himself away and has a new, clean, bleeding wound which may heal without further treatment. A child suffering from stubborn sores is treated by its mother, who collects slug-like shellfish (*Onchidium*) and squeezes the juices into the sore. I am told that the juices cause a stinging sensation, as iodine does.

Back injuries are ineffectively treated by tying bush rope tightly round the body in the region of the pain, and intense pain is eased by applying hot wet sand. 'Charlie Sitdown' became paralysed from the hips down, but his misfortune did not prevent him from becoming influential and astute in his dealings. In time he obtained three or four wives and

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

out it is assumed to be worth while patching him up; his organs are pushed inside and the hot spear-thrower, bark-pulp, and clay-plaster treatment is applied.

Severe constipation, with distended stomach, is known as 'or wah', and for this the leaves of a dry jungle tree are mixed in water and the fluid rubbed over the body. Crushed leaves are inserted in the nostrils and piled on the chest whilst the remaining fluid is poured into the ears. It is said to be essential for the patient to remain supine, so as to allow the fluid to run from the nostrils and ears down through the spinal column into the stomach. A second method is to make a meal from a long, spiral shellfish (*Cerithieder Telescopium telescopium*) found on the mudflats. It is good food at any time, but it is also regarded as a cure for constipation, in aiding the passage of fibrous foods; it has the smoothness of the oyster and looks like glutinous slime.

A third treatment is carried out by building a low platform of sticks, covering it with swamp grass, placing the patient on top and covering him with sheets of paper-bark. A fire is made under the structure from the wood, leaves, and bark of the 'boit' or iron-wood tree. This particular tree is always used for the fire. (It is the hardest wood I have seen, and when it is being milled severe irritation is caused to both nose and throat.) The patient spends most of the day on the grille, and from time to time is turned over; at sundown he is removed and plunged into a nearby creek or waterhole. Most assuredly he can expect to feel stimulated.

Diarrhoea is not a common ailment, for natural wandering habits reduce the danger of infection. Nevertheless, epidemics do occur, maybe through over-eating a good catch of turtle, or through hunger driving the food-gatherers to eat decomposing fish or meat washed ashore. A succulent herb, 'brokpili', found near fresh water swamps, is then crushed and mixed with water, and the rusty red mixture

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

757 [824] is swallowed, poured over the body, and into the nose and ears. It is said to be a purgative.

752 Toothache is unusual, for teeth are strong and well developed and are constantly exercised in masticating tough meat and fibrous foods. It was explained that if a tooth were to ache so badly that a kangaroo catch could not be eaten, the tooth would be treated, to temporarily quieten [824] it for the feast, by packing around it shavings from the wood of the 'moinjortj' tree.

757 Severe coughs and colds are seasonal and are aggravated by dipping the patient in a creek or by pouring water over [824] him to ease an accompanying fever. Coughs are also treated by sipping a mixture from the inner-bark of the stringy-bark eucalypt and a sweet grass soaked in water. Nests of green tree-ants are dropped on hot coals to stupefy the insects so that they can be collected and soaked in water. Their [825] particularly high content of formic acid remains in the water, and the mixture is renowned as a cure for a cough. A further potion is made from the greenish, high-smelling wax in wild-honey nests, which is mixed with water. It is said to taste like certain patent cough remedies and to produce a mild stinging sensation in the throat. When colds have settled in the lungs, a fire is made from pandanus palm nuts and covered with leaves and wet sand; water is poured over the sufferer, and leaves and hot sand are piled on him. It is said that the sickness is sweated out, and that the evil [753] spirit 'jumps out of his mouth to escape the heat'.

Headaches seem to be due to constipation, and to relieve them a certain white-ant nest is taken from the mangrove trees and burnt on the windward side of the patient. After inhaling the smoke for a day, he is said to lose the pain, or, to put it more strikingly: 'The sickness escapes from the smoke through his eyes, nose and ears.' Finally, he washes himself with sand or water—and, as an old man naïvely suggested, after listening to my informant: 'He has a smoke.'

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OII7 Murngin OII7

BLACK MAGIC

Our pedal-radio had broken down, and Mau and four other men took an urgent message for me to Milingimbi, a hundred and fifty miles away. It seemed that whilst he was there he was seduced by a married woman who came to his camp at night and told him to prepare the canoe whilst she collected the paddles. They made their get-away with no one the wiser, but next morning footprints and the missing canoe told the story. Two months later Mau and the woman came ashore at Yirrkala, and in the subsequent disputes and negotiations by the husband to regain his wife, Mau's horde stood firm, and Mau kept the woman. I was told that I had misinterpreted the incident, and that the woman had no active part in the elopement, for Mau had cast a Nyirrah spell over her, and her apparent enticement had all the time been inspired and controlled by him.

All rain is attributed to human agency, and heavy storms are invariably claimed by some wily magician. Distant clouds often lead to the casual remark that a horde living many miles in that direction is making rain. When I asked why they did not make rain to fall in the dry season, to cool the burning atmosphere and to make the yams grow, I was told that it is never made at that time of the year because they want the grass to die so that they can hunt kangaroos and emus. To my suggestion that regular showers would help the station garden crops, they replied that the garden did not need rain when the irrigation plant was pumping thousands of gallons over it.

Actual rain-making is a simple matter, but it depends entirely on the will and discretion of the magician. By one method, he kills a snake, and leaves it till putrefaction sets in before hanging it in a tree. He takes the spirit of this reptile, sings his instructions to it, and sends it into the sky to make rain. Thunder accompanying the storm is the voice of the growling snake, and lightning flashes are his flickering tongue. Wind preceding the rain is due to the snake rolling

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

821 the clouds together and pushing the wind before them in the
825 way that water spreads out before a rolling stone. As he
789 labours the snake weeps copiously and his tears fall as rain. If a snake is not available for rain-making, a bundle of grass may be tied together and submerged in a waterhole. Instructions are sung to this before its immersion, whereupon
[116] the great Spirit who made the world and at times revealed himself through the mythical serpent, assumes the functions of the missing earthly reptile and sends the rain.

In west Arnhem Land another mythological serpent
[184] sends rain in response to aboriginal wizardry. He shows himself as the rainbow, and thunder is the rumbling of his body as he turns over to urinate in the form of rain. To impress his admirers with his strength, Umbij hits two stones together till they flash fiery lightning.

821 If an old man is offended at some slight in the wet season
789 he will threaten to send a storm. All day Munju had been
888 mumbling and scowling at the door of his shelter, but his temper improved considerably toward sundown as nimbus clouds gathered to the accompaniment of distant thunder. That night a fierce tropical storm swept over the island, trees were struck by lightning, thunder crashed, and the wind howled as it levelled trees and shelters. In the sparkling stillness of the following dawn, the sun rose over a subdued camp, where Munju's honour had been vindicated, and he accepted the homage of his contemporaries. Also in the
[302] stormy wet season I heard a noisy termagant at Yirrkala
[578] objecting to young women cutting their hair, and when they persisted she threatened to call up a storm. That night we had heavy rain and a strong wind, and next day old Bamaja's exploit was referred to in subdued tones. Like most rain-makers she was aged, and having lived in the open air for sixty years with no other shelter than a sheet of bark, she knew her weather and could make a fairly accurate forecast.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

several women and children were dead; other sufferers were retching, and rolling on the beach in agony.

When an epidemic of whooping cough from Darwin swept eastwards through Arnhem Land and caused many deaths, a horde on the Crocodile Islands explained that an enemy had released the curse from a tree containing the spirit of the common cough. By stripping the bark from the tree he uncovered the evil spirit and sent it to the camps of his enemies to afflict them. On the other hand he could have broken up the tree, burnt it, and sent the smoke to blow over them.

Old Manimba, lame and half-blind, was familiar with magical arts and an acknowledged rain-maker. He also claimed to have control over mosquitoes and boils. Spirits of both plagues inhabit the pandanus palm, and when these prickly fronds drop off in the wet season the mosquito and boil spirits are released to swarm over the land. Manimba usually gets what he wants by threatening to send some sort of plague. To rouse unseasonal mosquitoes he pulls a green pandanus frond and instructs its mosquito-spirit to swarm into the country of his enemies, and it is done. He can call up boils by making a fire under the palm and directing the smoke to blow over and inflict certain camps.

Death in any but the very young or old is attributed to evil magic and the first consideration is to fix the blame, for someone must die for it. When a man is killed his lesser spirit follows the killer. Marrngeit, or benevolent witch-doctors, claim to be able to see these enslaved ghosts, and they are called on for an opinion. They sometimes make startling revelations to the relatives, though not always without serving their own ends. I remember one marrngeit acted on his own initiative, and asked the relatives: 'Do you know why your brother died?' And when interest and suspicion were fully aroused, he continued, 'I have seen his "mali". It is following Jimunboi, and he must

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

sticks were pulled out and thrown on the heap to deter inquisitive dingoes.

Meantime the grandfather sang songs appropriate to the departing spirit, the most important being the plover song. A plover is a spirit from Buralkor disguised with feathers so that mortals may see it, and its purpose is to guide human spirits on their way to the spirit world. Native-companions, geese, jungle fowls, and cockatoos are similarly revered by the Yiritja moiety, except that they have no qualms about eating them. Moreover, these are genuine birds and not visible spirits like the plover. Their importance lies in their supernatural ability to see spirits and to assist them.

As the grandfather sang the bird-songs, his sons accompanied him with clap-sticks and women danced and made the bird-signs. For the plover they held their hands in front of their shoulders with the fingers half clenched like talons; this gesture is also used ordinarily in their sign-language to indicate death, a corpse, or wandering ghost. Geese were introduced by imitating their cries and by holding short sticks between the hands for bird-perches. Long-winged native-companions could not be mistaken when the dancers extended their arms and flapped them. At the end of the ceremony a tribal-mother carried the bones to her camp and deposited them in the fork of a tree; in bush-camps such parcels can be seen in trees or in forked sticks. Skulls are of more importance and are painted and hoarded for as long as ten years.

It is usual to expose infants and to bury older children and adults, though no particular significance is attached to either method and both are preliminaries to the collecting of the skeleton. A corpse is buried in a shallow grave face downwards to facilitate the removal of the bones by lifting the backbone to which the greater part of the skeleton is attached. Bones may be collected in four or five days, a week or several months after burial, depending on the regard the

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

given to relatives, and by accepting them they pledge themselves to avenge the death of their kinsman. Bones are also worn as hunting-charms; the ghost follows the bone and guides the wearer to good hunting. Skeletons carried in canoes or sheltered in huts transfer their ghost to anything they touch, and rarely are they allowed to come into contact with private property.

Tabus are lifted by switching away the ghost with smoking twigs. This common 'muntja' ceremony is performed whenever news of a death reaches a camp, perhaps months after it has occurred, otherwise the roaming, mischievous ghost might haunt them indefinitely. Men are most particular in taking part in the ghost-laying practices, otherwise the ghost would trail them when hunting, and as animals can see these spirits it would not be possible to stalk and spear game.

An accepted etiquette is observed in breaking news of death. With an air of mystery the messenger imparts his information to two or three of the older men, and often it is ten or twelve hours before they divulge the news in open camp. I saw a man bring such news and tell it by signs to a few old men who agreed to keep the secret till they arranged the ghost-placating ceremony, and no one heard about it till the coterie commenced to sing for the unmistakable 'muntja'. Performers then derived great satisfaction from the furore; the rest of the camp ran to inquire about the death and to join in the laying of the ghost.

Dead nomads' names are never repeated, though reference to them can be made by signs or by relationship terms. If the restless ghost heard its old familiar name it would probably lodge in the camp or in the body of the person using it. A nomad with a dead man's name will change it or be referred to under a class-name. A little girl, Milly-milly, had her euphonious name changed to Arrung-giddy-niddy after the death of an older Milly-milly. The child appreciated

YULENGOR

A goanna was among the many sacred totems in the canoe, and he fared better than the rest; he swam ashore and hid in a lagoon. His lagoon is now an important totem centre, and the lesser-spirit, or mali, of the goanna guards it. As in many underground springs, the water occasionally bubbles up in the lagoon, and this is a sign that the goanna is moving below. No women are allowed near the totem, and if women in the vicinity are eaten the results are fatal. Old men who remember the Macassans told me that when they attempted to make their trepang camps on the beach by the lagoon the [illegible] of them. If running in other than [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] are allowed to [illegible] the area, because [illegible] goanna used to [illegible] one of the trees growing by the spring. When the Junkgowa followed the goanna ashore, they were attracted by the singular beauty of this tree, for as well as the goanna-mali they saw a small red parrot in the branches. They declared that thereafter the feathers of this parrot were to be used in decorating totems of the Dua moiety. The tree was pronounced sacred; there are now many of them near the lagoon, and the tabu has been extended to them all.

Totems, or 'runggs', floated ashore, and the Junkgowa hung them in the tree to dry. But when the pandanus palm armlets were washed up on the beach, they sprang to life and grew of their own accord, and the Junkgowa stripped them of their fronds and wove them into the first aboriginal armlets, dilly-bags, and ngaamurras. These articles are in everyday use, but because the Junkgowa made them, they are also totems, and their story is preserved in the songs and ceremonies of the guardian lords.

Two other sacred centres were visited between Blue Mud Bay and Cape Arnhem, where the Junkgowa performed miracles and taught their children totemic secrets and dances. It is the record of these activities, some of them as trivial as

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

followed the sun till they stumbled on another lonely camp-fire. 1773*

Just where all these old Men came from is something of a mystery, for the Junkgowa were fated to find several more of them. Yulengor merely say that 'they lived there and grew up like grass'. They were semi-human, like the Junkgowa, but with the difference that the Women had come from the spirit-world and the Men were of the earth.

Eight pairs of children were born to Yuan-Yuangor, and like Junkgowa children they were fully developed at birth and able to run in immediately. Imaggow were [illegible] were created here, and the Junkgowa made use of the mud [illegible] to show that children love to eat them. Worms, the colour of the surrounding mud, and as long as an arm, are drawn from mangrove roots, and without mastication they are allowed to slip slowly down the throat till the heads can be bitten off and discarded.

In those days Women were the guardians of ceremonial secrets, and their male children led a vague, indolent existence. But when the Ancestresses began preparing for the first of the great inter-tribal ceremonies, their sons became jealous. Consequently, when the Women hung their totems on a tree and went off at low tide to gather shellfish, one of their eight sons said: 'Let us take all these totems and make the Women gather our food.' Unanimous approval greeted the suggestion, so they collected the totems and took them into the scrub. Now, the Junkgowa were aware of the insurrection while they were still in the middle, because every shellfish they picked up opened its mouth and told them the news. On their return to camp, their daughters confronted their fathers but could not help them [illegible] showing them the men's cache leading into the bush. Following the tracks, the Junkgowa came to a clearing where the men were singing, but as they hurried forward to recover the totems they were overcome by the

1773*
1779

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

* 793
821

his body grows from infancy to prime of life, at full moon, and declines to old age and death, all in the space of four weeks. He drops his old skeleton into the sea and we know it as the nautilus shell. The lunar cycle is recommenced by Ngalindi's production of a new infant body for himself—the new moon.

[538] Anthropomorphic conceptions of mythical ancestors, the sun, the moon, and the stars, are so highly developed in aboriginal folklore, that apart from a few supernatural powers the characters might be ordinary humans. Indeed, in fact, in many cases they are, and in all cases they are supposed to have once lived on the earth, and many still do. No one knows, it is thought that, though the heavenly bodies once had physical form, they have now become spiritual beings clothed in light, and there are many of them that have not yet been seen.

* 793
825

'Gowak' is the general name given to the black pied magpie, ordinarily known as 'mudlark' or 'pee-wee'. They are said to roost among the stars. Nomads believe that they feed on the earth and fly into the sky after sunset. Originally the Gowak were three men made by the Junkgowa and sent out to prepare ceremonial grounds for unborn hordes in Blue Mud Bay and Arnhem Bay. Immediately they had completed their preparations they returned to the Junkgowa with a strange request: 'We have finished our work and now we wish to roam over the earth and fly into the sky.'

'Well,' said the Junkgowa, 'you can come with us as we go into the west.'

'No, we want to be free to fly about and please ourselves. We don't want to walk any more. Our work is finished and we want to fly and see other places.'

The Junkgowa suggested a change of work: 'If you want to see other places, you can go west and make new landmarks for us.'

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

SUN AND MORNING STAR

'No. We made three horde-territories. We don't want to walk; we want to fly, we want wings.'

Yet another problem was raised by the Junkgowa: 'If you have wings and live like birds, what will you eat?'

But the Guwak were prepared for this: 'We will live on cashew fruit, seeing that no one else eats it.'

Finally the Junkgowa gave way and changed them into birds, and made it possible for them to eat the wild cashew fruit. Because the Junkgowa wanted to have canoes like the [illegible] they [illegible] and made [illegible] 'Wangan' [illegible] the Guwak were transformed by [illegible] they are singing as they fly amongst the stars.

Some time after the Junkgowa began the work of creation, they were followed from the spirit world by two canoes loaded with birds and animals. Mythical beings, now known as 'Julpan', were in charge of the canoes, and they tried to follow the course taken by the Junkgowa to Port Bradshaw. But 'because they could not see the tracks left by the Junkgowa canoes in the water' they missed the course and sighted land thirty miles north of their objective. A high sea was running at the time, and they had little choice in selecting a good landing, so they tried to go ashore on the western side of Cape Arnhem, but both canoes were swamped in the surf. All the fish, dugong, turtle, and sea-snakes remained in the water; the animals and reptiles swam ashore, wandered wherever it pleased them, and set about propagating their species. Of the birds that flew ashore, some went into the hills and jungles, and others stayed in the coast, each according to its fancy, and there they are found today.

Having fulfilled their mission, the Julpan considered what next they should do. One suggested leaving the earth: 'Let us go into the sky and camp among the stars,' he said.